

The Communist

All Power To The Workers!

Vol. I. No. 1.

CHICAGO, ILL., SEPTEMBER 27, 1919

Five Cents

The Call to Action

THE Communist Party is now a fact. It issues its challenge to Capitalism, making clear its purpose of mobilizing the workers for the conquest of power. It issues a challenge to the workers, calling them to the militant struggle against Capitalism.

With the organization of the Communist Party, the conscious American workers responded to the Communist International, unite with the revolutionary workers of the world in the final struggle against Capitalism.

Revolutionary Socialism in the United States ceased being a faction, and now becomes a disciplined party of revolutionary activity. The Left Wing of yesterday is the Communist Party of today, organized on the solid basis of a militant membership and a clear, realistic and uncompromising program of theory and action.

The Communist Party appears as the largest working class party in point of membership: this alone indicates the mass impulse behind the party. It appears, not in response to the whims of individuals, but in answer to the vital needs of the workers in this epoch of the collapse of Capitalism.

At all points the new party meets the requirements of the present situation and of the proletarian class struggle. It breaks completely with the remnants of the reactionary Socialist Party; it repudiates the wavering, hesitating "Communist Labor Party;" it stands clear on the solid base of principle, a real Communist Party, with no taint of hesitation or of compromise.

To compromise is fatal. There must be unity of fundamentals: otherwise the workers are doomed to subjection or futile insurrection, and inevitable betrayals. Not the least task of the Communist Party is to expose the misleaders of the workers, the potential Scheidemans, Noskes and Haases, men who play with revolutionary phrases but put over reactionary deeds.

The Communist Party comes with a call to action. It comes to rally the workers for the militant struggle against Capitalism. Its purpose is to inspire the struggles of the workers with revolutionary initiative, energy and objectives. The Communist Party is the most resolute and consistent expression of the working class movement.

Our program is clear: it calls for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. That objective will determine our actions: that goal we shall never lose sight of.

But we shall not speak of proletarian dictatorship while ignoring the immediate mass struggles of the proletariat. Our party is a party of action, it will engage in the militant mass struggles of the workers, since out of these struggles develop that understanding and capacity necessary for the workers to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The American proletariat is restless. Its more progressive elements have caught the vision of the proletarian revolutions in Europe. The mass of the workers suffer under more acute oppression, and are anxious for a change; but they are not conscious of means and purposes. Capitalism is adopting the most terrible methods of repression to maintain the workers in subjection, while it proves by its deeds utter incapacity to solve the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. The workers are eager for a solution; they are developing the impulse toward workers' control of industry; they are moving slowly,

ORGANIZATION INFORMATION

The constitution of the Communist Party provides:

Any branch of the Socialist Party or of the Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Socialist Party and applies for a charter before Jan. 1, 1920 shall be accepted as a branch.

Until State and District Organizations are established branches in states other than Massachusetts and Michigan which do not belong to Language Federations affiliated with the Communist Party, should send their application for charters direct to the National Headquarters.

Dues stamps, membership cards and applications for membership are now ready for distribution. Dues stamps prices are:

To members 40c. per month.

To Branches where there is no City Central Committee 25c.

To City Central Committee 25c.

To State Organizations 15c.

Branches and City Central Committees which are not affiliated as described above may remit direct to the National Headquarters for dues stamps.

Application cards are 4.50 per thousand; \$2.50 for five hundred; 75c. per hundred.

Members dues books: \$7.50 per 1,000; \$4.00 for five hundred; \$1.00 per hundred.

Send all charter applications and orders for stamps and supplies to

C. E. RUTHENBERG, Executive Secretary
1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.

but surely, toward the consciousness of aggressive action against Capitalism.

Into this situation the Communist Party projects itself, with a realistic program and a clear understanding of the problems.

The impulse generated by the Russian Revolution is now seizing upon the workers of the world. The Soviet Republic is intact. But even should the Russian Soviet Republic break down, as in Hungary and Bavaria, the revolutionary inspiration will not break down. It will develop stronger and stronger, until the workers of the world end Capitalism.

For the great fact is that we are now in the epoch of the proletarian revolution. Capitalism cannot endure, it cannot solve its own problems. It has come to the end of its resources. Peace Conferences may meet in Paris, but the process of economic and political disintegration goes on. Capitalism weakens more as each day passes; and as

Capitalism weakens the workers develop a fuller understanding of their problems and the necessity for action.

The capitalists of the world, in a last desperate attempt to defend their power, have banded in the League of Nations. But the conscious workers of the world are equally organizing, organizing in the Communist International, which issues its challenge to the League of Nations and which will crush that League.

With the organization of the Communist Party, the conscious American proletariat affiliates with the Communist International. The revolutionary spirit is now organizing itself here, organizing in a party of action, determined upon the conquest of power.

The Communist International is not a thing of a day. It is not the sport of a few romantic revolutionists. It is the proletarian response to the requirements of the struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism; it is the movement of Marxism in action, the expression of the revolutionary struggle.

Capitalism in its murderous despair tries to strangle the workers' movement for emancipation. Let the Communist proletariat answer!

Capitalism is dividing the world economically and financially, forging new chains for the workers of the world. Let the Communist proletariat answer.

Capitalism is at the end of its historic mission; it is now the worst enemy of progress and civilization. Let the Communist proletariat answer!

Responding to the call of the Communist International, and building upon the basis of revolutionary experience in Europe, together with the revolutionary experience of the American movement, the Communist Party organizes for action.

On with the struggle! Unify the conscious elements of the proletariat! Make the Communist Party actually the party of the militant proletariat!

The problems are large, but they do not daunt us. The task that we must perform is a necessary task, vital and vitalizing. Upon our movement depends the future of the proletariat. Upon our proletariat depends the future of world Socialism, since American Capitalism is now the most powerful and reactionary; and only with the crushing of American Capitalism can the proletariat of the world realize its emancipation.

We know that the struggle will be a harsh one. We know that the master class will use all means at its disposal to crush our movement.

But the more the repression, the more will we struggle to awaken the workers to action — action against Capitalism, action for the Social revolution.

To the Communist Party — the revolutionary struggle and the future!

The Communist

National Organ, Communist Party

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Published Weekly, and owned and controlled,
by the Central Executive Committee of the Com-
munist Party of America.

C. E. RUTHENBERG,
Executive Secretary

LOUIS FRAINA,
International Secretary

5 cents a copy, \$1.00 six months, \$2 a year.
Bundles, 10 or more, 3½c. a copy.

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Crush Russia!

AN unconfirmed report comes from Paris that the Peace Conference has decided to evacuate Russia, withdrawing all troops. Immediately General March, of the American General Staff, declares that if this is so, it refers to Russia but not to Siberia.

Why not Siberia? The masses of Siberia have given proof of their opposition to the alien invaders. Kolchak's Government has no popular support, and is maintained by Japanese bayonets.

The answer is this:

Siberia is to be divided among the Allies, Japan particularly. The Japanese have secured supremacy in Siberia, their troops being used not only to crush the revolutionary masses, but to secure economic and financial control for Japanese capital to exploit the immense natural resources of Siberia.

British troops are still in possession of the Baku oil regions, perhaps the richest in the world. Oil today is a necessary factor in industry, particularly in transportation and naval power: that is why international imperialism is preparing to crush Mexican independence in order to control Mexico's oil wells.

The decision of the Allies Peace Conference, if it is a decision, comes of the complete collapse of the military campaign against Soviet Russia. On practically all fronts the Bolshevik armies are scoring victory after victory. The Baltic nations are considering peace with Soviet Russia. The allies do not dare send their own troops against the Red Army, and their hopes of the counter-revolutionary troops crushing the Soviet Republic have broken down miserably.

But this decision must be considered together with another fact: Reports are that the Peace Conference has come to an agreement with the imperialistic "Socialist" Government of Germany providing that a German army of 200,000 troops shall assume the offensive against Petrograd and Moscow, in an effort to crush the Soviet power. It is doubtful whether Germany will do this, since the Ebert Government requires the troops to crush a potential German revolution.

Moreover nothing is said or done about ending the infamous blockade against Russia.

The Allies have not given up their schemes to crush Soviet Russia; these schemes will assume a new form. Only the mass pressure of the proletariat will compel the end of the campaign to crush the Communist Republic of Russia.

Russia has repeatedly exposed the hypocrisy of the Allies. Under Czarism, Russia mocked the Allies' claim of waging war to liberate the small peoples—imagine Czarism liberating oppressed peoples! Revolutionary Russia is still more of a mockery of the Allies claim to be making the world safe

for democracy—the chief concern of the Peace Conference has been to crush revolutionary Russia, in order to assure the permanence of the peace of violence imposed upon the world. The Allies have divided the world economically, financially and territorially; but Soviet Russia, with its inspiration to the international proletariat, is a menace to these plans for world domination; hence Soviet Russia must be crushed.

The Old Unionism

THE A. F. of L. has for some months in the steel mills. Its organizers have been actively organizing the workers had a difficult task. The steel barons have used the law and the courts, police and gangsters, against these organizers, nine of whom have been killed. But the workers responded, and a strike is scheduled for September 22.

This movement among the steel workers has all the characteristics of the old unionism. Parleys are held concerning the strike, the employers are implored to meet with the union officials for "negotiations." Instead of action, they are talking, giving the steel barons ample opportunity to prepare for a strike.

Among the demands of the new union is one for the "check-off" system. In this system is comprised all the corruption and betrayal of the old unionism.

The check-off system means, in effect, that the union officials and the employer unite to herd the workers into the unions. It means that instead of the workers paying their union dues directly to the union, the employers collect these dues each week out of the pay of the workers and turn them over to the union officials. The employers and their hirelings accordingly, become agents of the union officials.

But there is a more serious phase. The "check-off" system of paying dues assures the control of the unions by a small clique of official; it is the best scheme yet invented of making the workers the helpless victims of their officials, of breaking any revolt in the unions. The final result of the system is that the officials and the employers become allies against the workers.

This system existed for years in the United Mine Workers. This union was a typical expression of the old unionism, which, particularly in the days of John Mitchell, betrayed the workers again and again. But the revolts of the workers were crushed by the united force of the employers and the officials, a force maintained largely by the "check-off" system.

The unionism of the A. F. of L. is a shackle upon the militant movement of the workers. Its form of organization splits the workers in fragments; and, moreover, A. F. of L. unionism assures control of the union by the clique of bureaucrats. The most vital fact in the labor movement at this moment is the tendency of the organized workers to break the domination of the officials, to develop a unionism that will respond to the mass impulse of the workers. The old unionism is in decay, has proven itself utterly incompetent on the problems of the proletariat. But here, in the steel industry, the A. F. of L. is imposing this reactionary system upon the workers, — assisted by the Syndicalist E. Z. Foster!

Unions are not necessarily simple job trusts. They are not necessarily simple organs of the struggle to increase the price of the commodity labor-power. They are not simply means of resistance against Capitalism. The unions may become organs of militant action, of the aggressive proletarian struggle against Capitalism. Industrial unionism is this sort of unionism, breaking with the methods and policy of the old craft unionism; and, if inspired with the revolutionary purpose, becomes a vital factor in the proletarian revolution.

COMMENT has been made concerning the "chaos" that prevailed in Chicago during Convention week. But only the weakling will consider as chaos the events producing three parties claiming to represent the revolutionary proletariat. In fact, sent the chaos there was a clear, uncompromising division of forces, necessary in the construction of a real revolutionary movement.

The "chaos" is characterized by a number of pertinent facts. The three conventions each produced its own party. Of these, the Communist Party represents the largest membership of the three. The remnants of the corrupt Socialist Party has at the most 25,000 (Germer claims 39,000); the Communist Labor Party, if it actually represents a substantial membership, represents not more than 10,000 members, mostly in the west, where the Communist Party has not yet carried its agitation and organization work, while the Communist Party has a membership of more than 60,000.

Membership is not necessarily a measure of strength. But in the collapse of the old party, with agitation and organization active as never before, it is significant that more than half the membership of the old party should unite in the Communist Party. It is equally significant that, of this membership, the various Federations include not more than 30,000. These facts dispose equally of the charge of clique control and of "Federation Party."

Not only is the Communist Party organized on a solid membership, but on a solid foundation of principles and tactics. The Socialist Party is still what it was, with a treacherous minority trying to camouflage the party in the colors of the Communist International. The Communist Labor Party was a house divided against itself. Its platform and program are a hash of the Left Wing program; its work not at all clear and inspiring. The Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party are clear, uncompromising, consistent. The Manifesto is a theoretical formulation of Communist principles. The Program is realistic, a program of action applying our general principles to the actual problems of the proletariat and of the prevailing struggle. Is this chaos?

There was at Chicago a historical division of forces, — the Socialist Party at the extreme Right, the Communist Labor Party at the extreme Left. Is this chaos?

This development is vital. It provides the opportunity of measuring the movement, of testing its values, of developing that revolutionary consciousness and consistent action necessary to rally the proletariat for Labor Party of real Communist understanding the Communist cause.

That there are elements in the Communisting, is a fact, and particularly the comrades of the Pacific Coast. But it is equally a fact that these comrades have the opportunity of affiliating with the Communist Party. They are now being misled by the Lore-Katterfeld-Wagenknecht Centrists, and by the Reed-Carney emotionalists. But not for long: the clear Communist Party call to action will rally them to our Party, while the real centrists will rejoin the Socialist Party.

The Left Wing, in the course of its development, acquired elements not at all Communist. These revealed themselves at Chicago as Centrists, the real Independents. But they do not represent much except themselves. The movement is larger than any individual; individuals who cannot merge themselves in the movement must be brushed aside brutally and contemptuously.

The situation is clear. The Communist Party represents the organized Communist sentiment of our country. Every real Communist will rally to its support.

Tactical Problems

IN the revolutionary reconstruction of the American Socialist movement, the utmost in understanding of fundamentals is necessary. The Left Wing in the Socialist Party, while Communist in its impulse, included many non-Communist elements which did not accept the fundamental principles of the Left Wing.

This admixture of elements was produced by the fact of the struggle assuming temporarily the character of a struggle for control of the Socialist Party administration. This attracted comrades disgusted with the "crooks" in the Party, comrades who had for years been waging a fight for administration control; and, moreover, there were comrades who affiliated with the Left Wing simply because they were inflamed against the gangster tactics used by Germer & Co. In the revolt against the old Party, these elements played their part, and perhaps a not unimportant part; but their contribution to the Communist reconstruction of the movement is slight, assuming the negative character of allowing the Communist Party to develop the fundamental implications of Communism by a criticism of their errors.

A large portion, if not most, of the delegates assembled at the Communist Labor Party convention consisted of these non-Communist elements, and of elements not yet clear on Communist fundamentals. Most of these delegates bolted the Socialist Party convention, not because they had a definite mandate to organize a Communist Party, but because they were disgusted with the tactics of Germer & Co. Surely, this is not organizing a new Party on the basis of fundamental principle!

This fact is proven by the declarations of the Communist Labor Party Convention. These declarations show the utmost confusion concerning fundamental principles and tactics.

This confusion is most apparent in the Communist Labor Party's attitude toward parliamentary action and participation in elections. It uses terms concerning "agitation and propaganda" but it nowhere defines the limits of its participation in elections. In fact, the Party's attitude apparently is that it shall participate in all elections for all public offices.

To participate in all elections for all offices of the capitalist state is to rob Communist parliamentary action of its class and revolutionary significance. A Communist Party must have nothing to do with elections for judges and sheriffs, and for the executives of the capitalist state generally. To elect executives is to assume responsibility for the capitalist state, and to prepare for a repetition of all the evils of the old Socialist parliamentarism.

The Communist Party, on the contrary, adopted a realistic and revolutionary policy. Its program states that nominations "shall be limited to legislative bodies, such as municipal councils, state legislatures and national congress." This is the Communist position. In the legislative chambers we meet the legislative representatives of the capitalist class, and fight them on the political issues of the class struggle. We do not assume responsibility for the capitalist state; in fact, our attitude makes it clear that our purpose is to destroy the bourgeois parliamentary state through the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. To participate in elections for all offices is to strengthen the dangerous idea that we can gradually transform the capitalist state into an organ of the proletariat, gradually "grow into" Socialism.

This confusion of the Communist Labor Party is made still worse by its Executive Secretary, A. Wagenknecht. In the "Ohio Socialist" of September 17 (Wagenknecht's paper) this notice appears:

"Ohio Locals should continue their municipal campaigns under the name of 'Socialist Party.' The adoption of the new name can date from time immediately following the November elections."

This characteristic Menshevik position exposes a number of facts:

1.—The Communist Labor Party, instead of uncompromisingly severing all relations with the Socialist Party, is still to use the name. That means promoting confusion in the minds of the workers. The name Socialist must be dropped immediately.

2.—These municipal campaigns are waged on the old Socialist Party basis, with nominations for all offices.

3.—Participation in the municipal campaigns under the name Socialist Party indicates a desire to retain the votes that have been cast for the old Party—thereby making votes an important issue.

Communist Party locals will not participate in the campaign. This may appear strange to the delegates of the Communist Labor Party Convention, who did not make clear the distinction between campaigns and elections. But there are moments during the process of the class struggle when to participate in the political campaign but to boycott the elections will most clearly emphasize our class character and promote our revolutionary purposes. Then the slogan becomes: Boycott the elections!

This year there are two reasons why a Communist Party should boycott the elections.

First, the fact of its being impossible to make nominations for the Communist Party. We could go into the elections only by using the name "Socialist Party." This we must avoid as we would the plague. The Communist Party will participate in the campaign, without candidates, carrying the clear propagandist call of Communism.

Second, even without this situation, it would prove beneficial to boycott the elections this year. In the United States, at this moment, the most vital revolutionary tendency is that of the workers initiating mass strikes. The most important task of a Communist Party is to develop the tactics of the general political strike. The Communist Party, accordingly, will enter the campaign this year with the message: Workers, expect nothing from the capitalist state! Your only hope is to use your mass power, to broaden and deepen your strikes until they become general political strikes, to impose mass proletarian pressure upon the state. At the moment when it is necessary to strengthen this mass action tendency of the proletariat, as at this moment, it becomes necessary to boycott the elections, as the Bolsheviks boycotted the elections for the second Duma in 1906. As events develop, it will be necessary from time to time for the Communist Party to boycott the elections while participating in the campaign. That depends upon the peculiarity of each historic moment. That is the Communist conception of parliamentarism—that is revolutionary political action.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party (one of the members of which, A. Bilan, has been repudiated overwhelmingly by his own branch in Cleveland, says there is no difference in principle between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. On this problem of parliamentarism and elections there is a difference. Others will develop. The Communist elements who may be temporarily attracted by the Communist Labor Party will realize that their representatives are either non-Communists or men who do not understand Communist fundamentals.

Unity—yes! But unity on fundamental Communist principles and tactics—unity in the consistent, uncompromising Communist Party.

The Socialist Party

THE struggle about which party shall secure the confidence of the proletariat is now between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, with the Lore-Wagenknecht-Katterfeld Party inevitably bound to be crushed between the two. This struggle is not to shirked; it will be waged relentlessly and bitterly, since this struggle must necessarily determine the future of the American revolutionary movement.

The Socialist Party is now something definite. Purged of its revolutionary and proletarian elements, it is now completely a party of the middle class and of the reactionary craft unions. The task of Germer & Co. has been accomplished — to retain control of the official Socialist Party, however small numerically, as a party of petty bourgeois Socialism, of Laborism.

There are some who will lament the wreck of the old Party. But this wreck was historically necessary in order to realize a real revolutionary party. And, in the larger sense, the old party is not wrecked; it still exists as a party of moderate Socialism and petty bourgeois reformism.

Historically, the Socialist Party started as a party of middle class progressivism and trades unionists. It split the old Socialist Labor Party in order to defend the A. F. of L. against the onslaughts of revolutionary unionism. It has officially opposed every revolutionary movement of the American workers, particularly the industrial union movement and the I. W. W. Its program has always been a program of progressivism, of reforms, of State Capitalism. Now, having purged itself of the proletarian and revolutionary elements, the Socialist Party will develop consistently as a party of Laborism, uniting in one way or another with the Labor Party.

The potential Scheidemann-Noske character of the official Socialist Party was indicated in its use of the police at the Convention against the Left Wing delegates—"the Chief of Police takes orders from me," declared Seymour Stedman.

What did the Socialist Party convention accomplish? It elected a new National Executive Committee, the members of which are fully in accord with the old policy. It did not adopt any new platform or declaration of principles, adhering impliedly to the old. It adopted a "manifesto" of flamboyant language, which carefully avoids any mention of the fundamental tactical problems that are transforming the Socialist movement. It decided to let a referendum vote determine whether the Party should affiliate with the Communist International—as if the International would accept a Party dominated by Hillquit, Germer, Berger & Co!

That is all. But it is enough!

The membership of the Socialist Party is now overwhelmingly petty bourgeois and craft unionist in character. The few proletarian elements which remain in that party, because of lack of understanding, are bound to break away as the Socialist Party logically develops its program of Laborism—for in that program alone can the old Party find a reason for existence.

The revolution in the Socialist Party is now complete: the revolution that logically culminated in the formation of the Communist Party. The American movement now becomes equal to the movement of other nations, with the same divisions and the same forces.

The continued existence of the Socialist Party will perform a useful historic mission; it will attract unclear elements, and provide the Communist Party with the opportunity of developing its own revolutionary position.

The Communist Party Convention

By I. E. Ferguson

THERE probably never was a gathering of working-class representatives in the United States which said what it meant and meant what it said more understandingly and more resolutely than the first convention of the Communist Party. This meeting of some 140 delegates, representing fifty to sixty thousand members, was unique in the annals of American Socialism in many respects, but most apparently in the character of the Convention itself. There was an all-pervading sense of realism about the work in hand, absolute candor in interchange of argument, impossibility of compromise as the solution of any item.

Three distinct groups were marked out at the opening of the Convention, and the whole proceedings represented the balancing of these three groups against one another. The delegates who pitted themselves individually against these solid formations found themselves in a hopeless situation. Three delegates who did not quickly enough yield their impulsive individualism to the mass discipline of one or other of the three groups left the Convention. They found more congenial atmosphere in the Centrist Convention of the "Communist Labor Party," where each was a law unto himself, and where the group as an entity was beyond the possibility of decisive action.

But in the meantime the most thoughtful of the bolting delegates from the Socialist Party Convention, who had been precipitated into a chance third party adventure, sensed that there was something unusually substantial about this quiet gathering where group power was grimly pitted against group power.

The Convention which opened with three distinct divisions ended a solid unit, none of the groups having lost enough ground to the others to make co-operation difficult. The third party gathering, opening with an ecstasy of emotional unity, frittered away of its inherent contradictions.

There was one moment which revealed the tense enthusiasm of this Convention, a moment never to be forgotten. On Monday, September first, near the hour of noon, an orchestra struck the first chord of the Internationale. Instantly there was a thunderous accompaniment of sustained cheering and spontaneous singing. There was no mistaking the martial challenge. It was as if the voices of the millions had come into this colorless hall to impress upon these delegates their deprivations and longings, their strength and readiness for the final conflict. It was a rare singing of the Internationale. So began the Communist Party of America.

A little while before the police had compelled the removal of the red bunting with which the hall was decorated. They also ordered the removal of two handsome floral offerings, deep red roses on a background of red shaped as a flag. The police were correct according to the city ordinance. The ordinance was correct according to the best known methods available for a privileged minority to choke off the life impulses of the masses. There must not be consciousness on the part of the masses; there must not be understanding of the symbolism of the red flag. . . . There was the arrest of Dennis E. Batt on Monday afternoon, in the Convention hall, on a warrant under the new Illinois sedition law. Someone called for cheers. There was stern quiet. The work of the Convention went on. This was the answer.

Dennis E. Batt of Detroit called the Convention to order in the name of the two committees which signed the Joint Call, the National Left Wing Council and the National Organization Committee (representing the

minority group of the Left Wing Conference.) Louis C. Fraina of New York was elected Temporary Chairman and made an address on the problems of the Communist Party.

While the Credentials Committee was completing its task, an Emergency Committee of nineteen was elected. Before the opening of the Convention the question of admitting reporters and non-party members had been raised. The Joint Organization Committee decided in favor of an open Convention, so far as space would allow.

At nine o'clock Monday evening the Convention was declared organized. At once the group lines within the Convention were sharply drawn. The first issue to come before the body was the admission of bolting delegates from the Socialist Party Convention. This issue was reflected in the election of a Permanent Chairman. The candidate of the Federation and Michigan groups, both favoring a rigid rule of admissibility of delegates, was Renner of Detroit. The National Left Wing Council group, favoring liberal interpretation of the Joint Call with respect to the bolting delegates, nominated Ferguson. Renner was elected.

Ferguson immediately presented the motion which opened the most intense debate of the entire Convention: that a committee of five be elected to confer with the committee of five of the Left Wing delegates who had bolted the Socialist Party Convention or had been refused seats in that Convention. This motion was defeated, 75 to 31. The effect of this vote was to cut off any recognition of the bolting delegates as a body.

This situation threatened a split in the Convention. The Federation group was voting on this issue under caucus unit rule. The vote was almost evenly divided between the Federation and non-Federation representatives, but the Michigan group of about twenty was now joined with the Federation bloc. The minority consisted of practically all the delegates outside the Federation caucus and the Michigan unit, and the leadership of the minority centered in the National Left Wing Council.

This minority organized itself in caucuses, but without adopting the unit rule. The minority determined to pit its moral strength against the majority which had rebuffed the Left Wing delegates. This strength consisted of the fact that the withdrawal of this minority from the work of the Convention would leave the Russian Federation group no English-speaking expression outside the editorial staff of the Detroit *Proletarian*, a situation which had already been found highly embarrassing.

Tuesday morning Ferguson, Lovestone, Fraina, Ruthenberg, Selakowich, Ballam and Cohen resigned from the Emergency Committee. Comrades Paul and Fanny Horowitz resigned as Secretaries. Comrade Elbaum of Detroit, one of the strongest men in the Federation caucus, also resigned from the Emergency Committee. This was a thunderbolt in the majority camp. It is to be noted that the minority was never without Federation delegates, the South Slavic and Hungarian representatives coming in at the start, and as the situation developed Lithuanian, Polish and Jewish Federation delegates showing that they would not tolerate anything in the nature of arbitrary Federation control of the Convention or of the new party.

The minority "strike on the job" had its quick effect. The Federation caucus conceded the reconsideration of the motion for a committee of five to make a statement to

the bolting delegates; also the election of Ruthenberg and Ferguson on that committee. The inter-play between the two caucuses required a clearing house in the way of a Joint Caucus made up of nine members from each side. A newspaper reporter made the just complaint that a Convention run in this way rather left the spectators out of the reckoning. It meant a deliberate measuring of forces, agreement on maximum and minimum demands, and the use of the Convention floor only on the clearly formulated programs.

The "diplomatic negotiations" between the two Conventions appears elsewhere in this issue. The insistence of the Wagenknecht-Katterfeld group on a joining of the two Conventions as conventions was an absolute barrier against unity. The fight for unity within the Communist Convention could be carried no further until the credentials of the bolting delegates came up for consideration. Otherwise a case would have to be made for the admission of about 40 delegates who represented no membership, or were without any instructions upon which they could accept the Joint Call, or were open opponents of the Joint Call or of the Left Wing program. Those who talked about unity while making such a demand showed themselves to be either without sincerity or without conception of the fact that a real Communist Party could only be started upon the basis of Communist principles and Communist membership.

With the issue of new delegates out of the way, there was a realignment of the three groups in the Convention. Now the separation was on matters of party program and organization, and this separation reflected itself also in the Convention elections. The Michigan bloc of twenty remained in a hopeless minority at all times.

The work of the various committees speaks for itself in the documents published in this issue. The main business of the Convention was the formulation of a program and of a constitution. The Program Committee consisted of Comrades Fraina, Elbaum, Stoklitsky, Hourwich, Bittleman, Batt, Cohen, Lovestone and Wicks; the Constitution Committee, Hiltzig, Ruthenberg, Ashkenousi, Ferguson, Tywerowsky, Stinson, Forsinger.

There are a number of features of the constitution which mark the sharp distinction between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Membership is not merely a matter of dues-paying in the new party, but depends on active participation in the party work and acceptance of party discipline.

A clause which precipitated a lively debate was Section 7 of Article III barring from membership any person "who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest or profit." The Committee divided four against three on this provision, with Comrade Stinson presenting the side of the minority for himself, Ruthenberg and Ferguson. The majority argument, as made by Com. Hourwich, was that the provision may be unscientific but that it is hard to convince the workingman that exploiters of labor are themselves to be trusted in the fight against exploitation. The minority argument was that such a mechanical clause could only operate to exclude the few exceptional individuals whose consciousness is not controlled by personal interest in the capitalist system. The clause easily carried.

A motion "that no member of a religious organization shall be eligible to membership" was tabled. However, a resolution was later adopted stating the attitude of the Convention on the subject of religion.

Section 9 of Article III also was the subject of lively debate. This clause bars

members of the Communist Party from contributing political or economic articles to publications other than those of the Party, except as to scientific journals. An attack on the party in the bourgeois press may be answered by leave of the Central Executive Committee.

The principle of centralization pervades the constitution. The new party is built on simple lines of central control, with ample counter provisions for referendum and recall. A distinct innovation is the District unit of organization, which is intended to combine or divide the States according to industrial centers. The Federations are retained as administrative units of the party, and all language branches must belong to a single Federation of the one language. A sharp controversy arose on the question of the method of expelling Federation branches, and this was an instance where the Federation caucus went down to defeat. The question was on the power of the City Central Committee to expel language branches; also on the question of the right of the City Central to review Federation expulsions prior to appeal to the Central Executive Committee. The function of the City Central was saved in both instances; and in every case of expulsion or of refusal of admission of a branch to membership, there is a final appeal against the decision of the Federation executives to the Central Executive Committee.

Undoubtedly the whole subject of Federations was more carefully and thoroughly discussed in these proceedings than in any other Socialist gathering in recent years.

The Central Executive Committee is made up of 15 members, elected from the National Convention. Also the Secretary and Editor are chosen by the Convention. There is an Executive Council of 7 made up of the Secretary, Editor and 5 members of the Central Executive Committee, these members to live in the city of the national headquarters or in adjacent cities.

Another innovation is the requirement that State Conventions shall be held annually in April or May. This corresponds to the fixing of the National Convention in June, with the provision for election of delegates to the National Convention by the State Conventions.

Membership qualifications for all offices or nominations to public offices is set at two years. Eligibility on June 1st, 1920, depends on joining the party before January 1st, 1920.

All referendums are by petition of 25 or more branches representing 5% of the party membership; or by initiative of the Convention or of the Central Executive Committee. There are no automatic referendums, as in the case of the Socialist Party election and constitution referendums. The recall petition has the same requirements. It is specially provided that the party press shall be open for discussion of all referendum proposals while under consideration.

The fight on the Manifesto and Program would have been a battle royal but for the fact that the odds were so overwhelmingly against the Michigan minority. The Committee was presented with two drafts, one by Comrade Batt, the other by Comrade Fraina, the latter being an adaptation of the work of the Left Wing Conference of June. After considerable condensation, the Fraina draft was adopted by the majority of the Committee, Batt and Wicks being the minority.

On Saturday evening, the following statement from 20 delegates, 1 alternate and 1 fraternal delegate was read: "We, the undersigned delegates, hereby publicly state our disapproval of the Manifesto and Program adopted by the Convention and of the methods used in forcing its adoption. Therefore we ask to be recorded in the minutes as not voting, either affirmatively or nega-

tively, on the adoption of said Manifesto and Program and as not accepting nominations for, or voting on, any party official elected by this Convention."

As a matter of fact the Michigan Manifesto and Program never had the least chance of adoption, but that was the sum total of the evidence upon which it was charged that there was something questionable about the majority action in adopting the Left Wing Manifesto and Program. Somehow the Michigan delegates seemed to sense the incongruity of their condemnation of the majority action, because they did not withdraw from the Convention or give any indication of an intention not to work with the new party.

Comrade Batt made an elaborate defense of his minority Manifesto and Program, and was answered in a masterly fashion by Comrade Bittleman of New York, editor of the Jewish Left Wing paper *Der Kampf*.

The "Michigan" peculiarity within the general Left Wing movement which culminated in the Communist Party is not an affair of the Michigan membership so much as it is of a small group from Detroit. Only in the borrowing of a few new phrases and the careful gleaning of a sentence or two from Lenin does the minority Manifesto and Program show any relation to what is now going on in the revolutionary proletarian movement. Aside from these phrases the document might have been written twenty years ago, before the adaptation of Marxism to the period of Imperialism.

In spite of all confusing intimations to the contrary, the long minority Manifesto and Program simply calls for the old Socialist Party tactics with elimination of demands for reforms. It is a program of pure parliamentarism with a prophesy that when the work of education shall have advanced far enough other tactics may be used. It makes reference to proletarian dictatorship, but with no acceptance of the process by which this dictatorship must be acquired.

The Communist program is based upon the mass struggles of today. It does not studiously calculate the magic hour when the correct understanding of Marxism will have its chance, but insists that the revolutionary struggle is a continuous process from the strikes of today to the general mass action which sweeps the bourgeois institutions out of existence. It does not scorn the strike because its declared objects are entirely of immediate concern. Nor does it ask that the strike shall proceed on demands made upon the government itself before it can be of interest to the Communist Party, as does the minority declaration. The life of the Communist movement is the changing character of these mass struggles under imperialistic pressure, and the work of the Communist Party is to enter into these struggles at every stage to develop out of them the consciousness of the class struggle in its ultimate aspects; to develop out of them also the technique of working class social control, as in the assumption of civic functions by the strike committees of Seattle, Winnipeg, Belfast. . . .

Aside from the delegation from Michigan, the Convention elections are no doubt the best indication of the dominant personalities in the new party. One delegate from Detroit would unquestionably have won a place on the Executive Committee for his services in the campaign for the organization of the new party, Dennis E. Batt. For the rest it is not likely that participation in the elections would have changed the outcome.

Louis C. Fraina was chosen International Secretary, with I. E. Ferguson as alternate. Fraina's contribution to the Left Wing movement by his writings in *The Class Struggle* and *The Revolutionary Age* gives him a unique position in the development of revolutionary Socialist theory in con-

formity with American conditions and party circumstances. Comrade Fraina was also elected to the Central Executive Committee, and was named without opposition as Editor of the party publications.

C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland was chosen for the important post of National Secretary. Comrade Ruthenberg has a record of service in the Socialist Party which has made him a national figure in the Socialist movement for many years. Already elected by a very large vote as International Delegate and Executive Committeeman of the old party, Ruthenberg now takes these offices in the Communist Party.

The other International Delegates are Nicholas I. Hourwich, editor of *Novy Mir*, Alexander Stoklitsky, Translator-Secretary of the Russian Federation, and I. E. Ferguson, Secretary of the National Left Wing Council and now Associate Editor of the Communist Party publications. Comrade Hourwich has long been recognized as one of the ablest exponents of Communism in America, and has behind him a long record of intimate association with the work of the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social-Democracy. Comrade Stoklitsky has an easy claim to the most important organization contribution to the Left Wing movement. It was Comrade Stoklitsky who welded the Russian-speaking Federations into a working unit for the transformation of the Socialist movement in this country, and who did much to bring this solid unit of membership into teamwork with the English-speaking Left Wingers. Comrades Hourwich and Ferguson were elected also to the Central Executive Committee.

The alternates as International Delegates are Comrades Elbaum, Bittleman, Ballam and Lovestone. Elbaum is editor of the Polish Federation daily newspaper in Detroit, and Bittleman, as already mentioned, of the Jewish Federation paper in New York. Ballam, member of the National Left Wing Council, is editor of the *New England Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party of Massachusetts. Jay Lovestone, of New York, one of the youngest of this Convention of young men, proved himself one of the most aggressive and ablest. All of these four were elected also to the Central Executive Committee.

The other delegates elected to the Executive Committee are Comrades Schwartz, Cohen, Tywerowsky, Petras, Karosses, Dirba, Wicks. Schwartz, of Boston, is of the Lettish Federation; Tywerowsky, of New York, is Executive Secretary of the Russian Federation; Petras, of Chicago, is of the Hungarian Federation; Karosses, of Philadelphia, is of the Lithuanian Federation. Maximilian Cohen, of New York, has served as member of the National Left Wing Council and played a very important part in the Left Wing movement as Secretary of the Left Wing Section of New York. Dirba is State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, and Wicks one of the newly elected members of the Socialist Party N. E. C., stood highest on the ballot as Socialist Party delegate from Oregon.

The Executive Council consists of Comrades Ruthenberg, Fraina, Ferguson, Schwartz, Karosses, Dirba and Wicks.

In view of the argument that has been made about Federation "control" it is noteworthy that the Executive Council has two Federation members against five non-Federationists, while the entire Executive Committee has a majority of non-Federationists.

Five alternates were chosen for the Executive Committee, Comrades Stokes, Loonin, Georgian, Bixby and Kravsevitche.

On account of ineligibility to the Executive Committee the names of some of the Translator-Secretaries do not appear in this list, though they were among the outstanding figures of the Convention, notably Jo-

(Continued on Page 9.)

The Communist Party Manifesto

Adopted and Issued by the Convention of the Communist Party

The world is on the verge of a new era. Europe is in revolt. The masses of Asia are stirring uneasily. Capitalism is in collapse. The workers of the world are seeing a new life and securing new courage. Out of the night of war is coming a new day.

The spectre of Communism haunts the world of capitalism. Communism, the hope of the workers to end their misery and oppression.

The workers of Russia smashed the front of international Capitalism and Imperialism. They broke the chains of the terrible war; and in the midst of agony, starvation and the attacks of capitalists, of the world, they are creating a new social order.

The class war rages fiercely in all nations. Everywhere the workers are in a desperate struggle against their capitalist masters. The call to action has come. The workers must answer the call!

The Communist Party of America is the party of the working class. The Communist Party proposes to end Capitalism and organize a workers' industrial republic. The workers must control industry and dispose of the products of industry. The Communist Party is a party realizing the limitations of all existing workers' organizations and proposes to develop the revolutionary movement necessary to free the workers from the oppression of Capitalism. The Communist Party insists that the problems of the American worker are identical with the problems of the workers of the world.

THE WAR AND SOCIALISM.

A giant struggle is convulsing the world. The war is at end, but peace is not here. The struggle is between the capitalist nations of the world and the international proletariat, inspired by Soviet Russia. The Imperialisms of the world are desperately arraying themselves against the onswEEPing proletarian revolution.

This international struggle is directed by the League of Nations and the Communist International, one for the capitalists, the other for the workers.

The League of Nations is dividing the world financially and territorially. It is directing the fight against the workers. It is the last effort of Capitalism to save itself.

The reactionary League of Nations is the logical result of this imperialistic war. And the war was the product of Capitalism.

Capitalism oppress the workers. It deprives them of the fruit of their labor—the difference between wages and product constituting the profits of the capitalists. As the capitalists compete with each other, while exploiting the workers, new and more efficient means of production develop. This compels the concentration of industry which results in monopoly. Under monopoly there is rapid accumulation of capital, producing a surplus which it is necessary to export for investment. This export of capital, together with the struggle to monopolize the world's sources of raw materials and to control undeveloped territory for purposes of investment, is the basis of Imperialism.

Imperialism produced the war. The war now being at an end, the victorious nations are concerned almost exclusively with these economic, territorial and financial problems. The United States was vitally concerned in the war, the issue being world power; and its capitalism, having secured a position of financial supremacy, had a direct imperialistic interest at stake.

The war made a shambles of civilization. It proved the utter incapacity of capitalism to direct and promote the progress of humanity. Capitalism has broken down.

But the Socialist movement itself broke

down under the test of war. The old dominant moderate Socialism accepted and justified the war. It acted against the proletarian revolution and united with the capitalists against the workers. Out of this circumstance developed the forces of revolutionary Socialism now expressed in the Communist International.

Socialism had repeatedly emphasized the menace of war. It had urged the workers to act against the war. The Socialist congress at Basle in 1912, when Europe was on the verge of a general war, condemned the war as imperialistic and as unjustifiable on any pretext of national interest. It urged using the crisis of war to "rouse the masses and to hasten the downfall of Capitalism."

The war that came in 1914 was the same imperialistic war that might have come in 1912. But upon the declaration of war, the dominant opportunistic Socialist parties accepted and justified the war of plunder and mass murder!

This was a direct betrayal of Socialism. It was an abandonment of the class struggle. The class struggle is the very heart of revolutionary Socialism. Unless the Socialist movement wages the class struggle under any and all conditions in its revolutionary implications, it becomes either Utopian or reactionary. But moderate Socialism accepted the war and the "unity of the classes", and united with the capitalist governments against the working class.

The Socialist parties accepted the war as a war for democracy — as if democracy under Imperialism is not directly counter-revolutionary. They justified the war as a war for the independence of nations! Not the proletarian class struggle, but nationalism, social-patriotism and social-imperialism determined the policy of the dominant Socialism. The coming of Socialism was made dependent upon Imperialism and the war of plunder, upon the workers cutting each others' throats in the struggles of their own ruling class!

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

The collapse of the Socialist International during the war marks the transition from the older moderate Socialism to the new Socialism of revolutionary practice and promise in the Communist International.

Moderate Socialism, which perverted the revolutionary Socialism of the First International, placed its faith in "constructive" social reforms. It accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its activities and strengthened that state. It developed a policy of "class reconciliation", affirming that the coming of Socialism was a concern of "all the classes" instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that it was the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. There was a joint movement that affected the thought and practice of Socialism: on the one hand, the organization of the skilled workers into trades unions, which secured certain concessions and became a semi-privileged caste; and, on the other hand, the decay of the class of small producers, crushed under the iron tread of industrial concentration. As one moved upward and the other downward, they met and formed a political juncture to use the state to improve their conditions. The dominant Socialism expressed this compromise. It developed a policy of legislative reforms and State Capitalism.

The whole process was simple. The workers were to unite with the middle class and government ownership of industry was to emancipate the working class. Parliamentarism was to revolutionize the old order of

slavery and power, of oppression and destruction.

It was simple, but disastrous. The state, as owner of industry, did not free the workers, but imposed a sterner bondage. The capitalist state was made stronger by its industrial functions. The parliamentary representatives of the workers played at the parliamentary comedy, while Capitalism developed new powers of oppression and destruction.

But Imperialism exposed the final futility of this policy. Imperialism united the non-proletarian classes, by means of State Capitalism for international conquest and spoliation. The small capitalists, middle class and the aristocracy of labor, which previously acted against concentrated industry, now compromise and unite with concentrated industry and finance-capital in Imperialism. The small capitalists accept the domination of finance-capital, being allowed to participate in the adventures and the fabulous profits of Imperialism, upon which now depends the whole of trade and industry. The middle class invests in monopolistic enterprises; income now depends upon finance-capital, its members securing "positions of superintendence", its technicians and intellectuals being exported to lands in process of development. The workers of the privileged unions are assured steady employment and comparatively high wages through the profits that come in from the savage exploitation of colonial peoples. All these non-proletarian social groups accept Imperialism, their "liberal and progressive" ideas becoming camouflage for Imperialism with which to seduce the masses. Imperialism requires the centralized state, capable of uniting all the forces of capital, of unifying the industrial process through state regulation, of maintaining "class peace" of mobilizing the whole national power for the struggles of Imperialism. State Capitalism is the expression of Imperialism, precisely that State Capitalism promoted by Moderate Socialism. What the parliamentary policy of Socialism accomplished was to buttress the capitalist state, to promote State Capitalism, — to strengthen Imperialism.

Moderate Socialism developed while Capitalism was still competitive. Upon the advent of monopoly and Imperialism, Socialism emerged into a new epoch, — an epoch requiring new and more aggressive proletarian tactics. Capitalism acquired a terrific power in industry and the state. The concentration of industry, together with the subservience of parliaments to the imperialistic mandates and the transfer of their vital functions to the executive organ of government, made more clear the impossibility of the parliamentary conquest of power. The older unionism and parliamentary Socialism proved their utter incompetence for the new conditions of struggle. These conditions developed the concept of industrial unionism in the United States and the concept of mass action in Europe. Imperialism made it necessary to reconstruct the Socialist movement.

But Moderate Socialism itself did not change under the necessity of events. The consequence was a miserable collapse under the test of the war and the proletarian revolution in Russia and Germany.

In the Russian Revolution, the proletariat, urging on the poorer peasantry, conquered the power of the state after the first revolution had established the democratic parliamentary republic. It established a dictatorship of the proletariat. This proletarian revolution was accomplished in spite of the opposition of Moderate Socialism, represented by the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists. These Moderates argued that

since Russia was economically an undeveloped country, it was premature to make a proletarian revolution in Russia and historically impossible to realize Socialism.

Moderate Socialism in Germany also acted against the proletarian revolution. It offered a capitalist parliamentary republic as against proletarian dictatorship.

The issue in Germany could not be obscured. Germany was a fully developed nation industrially, its economic conditions were mature for the introduction of Socialism. But Moderate Socialists still rejected the revolutionary task.

There is a common policy that characterizes moderate Socialism; that is, its conception of the state. Out of the conception that the bourgeois parliamentary state is the basis for the introduction of Socialism developed a directly counter-revolutionary policy.

Communism rejects this conception of the state. It rejects the idea of class reconciliation and the parliamentary conquest of Capitalism. The Communist Party alone is capable of mobilizing the proletariat for the revolutionary mass struggle to conquer the power of the state. The Communist Party, realizes that it is necessary to develop separate organs of working class political power by means of which to crush the resistance of Capitalism and establish the Communist Commonwealth.

AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

Socialism in the United States, prior to the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party, was a movement of isolated and indefinite protest. It was the sport of middle class movements, while itself split by Socialist and Anarchist factions.

The Socialist Labor Party, after casting off the non-Socialist elements, developed as a consistent party of revolutionary Socialism. Particularly, the S. L. P. realized the importance of imparting a Socialist character and consciousness to the unions. The Socialist Labor Party, together with the experience of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, developed the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism.

The struggle of the Socialist Labor Party against the old unionism developed a secession from the party of elements who considered protecting the reactionary American Federation of Labor more important than revolutionary Socialism. These, together with bourgeois and agrarian radicals, organized the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party was a party of Moderate Socialism. Its policy was that of government ownership of industry, not the proletarian conquest of power. It maintained that the middle class and the lesser capitalists are necessary in the Socialist struggle against Capitalism. The Socialist Party asserted in substance: Socialism is a struggle of all the people against the trusts, making the realization of Socialism depend upon the "unity of the common people", the workers, the small capitalists and investors, the professions. In short the official policy of the Socialist Party was to attain Socialism by means of capitalist democracy.

The Socialist Party stultified proletarian political action by limiting it to elections and participation in legislative reform activity. The party favored reactionary trades unionism as against revolutionary industrial unionism.

The Socialist Labor Party developed a purely theoretical activity, of real value, but was isolated from the masses. The Socialist Party attained a considerable membership, but largely of a petty bourgeois character. The war brought in new industrial proletarian elements but the party still isolated itself from revolutionary theory and practice. The proletarian masses in the

Socialist Party required simply the opportunity to develop a revolutionary proletarian policy.

The Socialist Party under the impulse of its proletarian membership adopted a militant declaration against the war. But the officials of the party sabotaged this declaration. The "official" policy of the party on the war was that of liberal pacifism. The Party bureaucracy united with the People's Council which propagandized a Wilson peace. The 1918 party platform accepted the Wilson "fourteen points" as adopted by the pro-war Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference.

The war and the proletarian revolution in Russia sharpened the antagonism between the party policy and the revolutionary proletarian temper in the party. Revolt broke loose. The Socialist Party was crushed. The Communist Party is the response to this revolt and to the call of the Communist International.

COMMUNIST PARTY PROBLEMS.

The United States is now a world power. It is developing a centralized, autocratic federal government, acquiring financial and military reserves for aggression and wars of conquest. Imperialism now consciously dominates the national policy.

The war strengthened American Capitalism, instead of weakening it as in Europe. But the collapse of Capitalism in other countries will play upon and affect events in this country. Feverishly, American capitalism is developing a brutal campaign of terrorism. It is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction that press down upon society. Its "reconstruction" program aims simply to develop power for aggression and plunder in the markets of the world. While this is not the moment of actual revolution, it is a moment of struggles pregnant with revolution.

Strikes are developing, verging on revolutionary action, and in which the suggestion of proletarian dictatorship is apparent. The striker-workers try to usurp functions of industry and of government, as in the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes.

A minor phase of proletarian unrest is the trade unions organizing a Labor Party, in an effort to conserve what they have secured as a privileged caste. A Labor Party is not the instrument of aggressive working class struggle; it can not break the power of the capitalists and the profit-system of oppression and misery, since it accepts private property and the "rights of capital." The practice of a Labor Party is in general the practice of the Socialist Party — co-operation with bourgeois "progressives" and reforming Capitalism on the basis of the capitalist parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the proletarian as moderate petty bourgeois Socialism, — the two being expressions of an identical social tendency and policy. The can be no compromise either with Laborism or reactionary Socialism.

But there is a more vital tendency, the tendency of the workers to start mass strikes, — strikes which are equally a revolt against the bureaucracy of the unions and the capitalists. The Communist Party will endeavor to broaden and deepen these strikes making them general and militant, developing the general political strike.

The Communist Party of its action the mass struggles of the proletariat, engaging directly in these struggles and emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

POLITICAL ACTION.

The proletarian class struggle is essentially a political struggle. It is a political struggle

in the sense that its objective is political, — overthrow of the political organization upon which capitalist exploitation depends, and the introduction of a proletarian state power. The objective is the conquest by the proletariat of the power of the state.

Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeois state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is only of secondary importance.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist class has at its command in order to gain its end, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of working class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique — lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery. To the demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy but not observed by the enemy it to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power, a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working class power.

The parliamentarism of the Communist Party performs a service in mobilizing the proletariat against Capitalism, emphasizing the political character of the class struggle.

The conquest of the power of the state is accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat. Political mass strikes are a vital factor in developing this mass power, preparing the working class for the conquest of Capitalism. The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of the industrial process. The mobilizing of this control against capitalism means the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state.

UNIONISM AND MASS ACTION.

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers, whose skill is itself a form of property. The unions were not organs of the militant class struggle. Today the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of Capitalism, merging in Imperialism and accepting State Capitalism.

The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process expropriated large numbers of the skilled workers of their skill; but the unions still maintained the ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power, by the ineffectiveness of its localized strikes as against large scale industry, trades unionism resorts to dickers with the bourgeois state and accepts imperialistic State Capitalism to maintain its privileges as against the unskilled industrial proletariat.

The concentration of industry produces the industrial proletariat — the machine workers. This proletariat, massed in the basic industry, constitutes the militant basis of the class struggle. Deprived of skill and craft divisions, the old petty isolated strike is useless to these workers.

These facts of industrial concentration developed the concept of industrial unionism among the organized workers, and mass action among the unorganized.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the facts of modern industry, and the forms it imposes upon the proletarian class struggle. Mass action develops as the spontaneous

activity of unorganized workers in the basic industry; its initial form is the mass strike of the unskilled. In these strikes large masses of workers are unified by the impulse of the struggle, developing a new tactic and a new ideology.

Mass action is industrial in its origin, but it acquires political character as it develops fuller forms. Mass action, in the form of general political strikes and demonstrations, unites the energy and forces of the proletariat, brings proletarian mass pressure upon the bourgeois state. The more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it antagonizes the bourgeois state, the more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsive to life itself, the form of the aggressive proletarian struggle under Imperialism. Out of this struggle develops revolutionary mass action, the means for the proletarian conquest of power.

The conception of mass action has little in common with Syndicalism. In its mass impulse, Syndicalism was a protest against the futility of parliamentarism. But anarcho-Syndicalism tactically and theoretically is a departure from Marxism. It does not appreciate the necessity of a proletarian state during the transition period from Capitalism to Communism (which implies the disappearance of all forms of the state). Syndicalism makes the proletarian revolution a direct seizure of industry, instead of the conquest of the power of the state.

Industrial Unionism also, cannot conquer the power of the state. Under the conditions of capitalism it is impossible to organize the whole working class into industrial unions. It will be necessary to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, by means of revolutionary mass action. Moreover, industrial unionism does not actually construct the forms of the Communist administration of industry, only potentially. After the conquest of power the industrial unions may become the starting point of the Communist reconstruction of society. But the conception that the majority of the working class can be organized into conscious industrial unions and construct under capitalism the form of the Communist society is as utopian

as the moderate Socialist conception of the gradual "growing into Socialism."

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis, the proletariat acts for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. Strikes of protest develop into general political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extra-parliamentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. Bourgeois democracy promotes the dictatorship of capital, assisted by the Press, the pulpit, the army and the police. Bourgeois democracy is historically necessary on the one hand, to break the power of feudalism, and, on the other, to maintain the proletariat in subjection. It is precisely this democracy that is now the instrument of Imperialism, since the middle class, the traditional carrier of democracy, accepts Imperialism. The proletarian revolution disrupts bourgeois democracy. It disrupts this democracy in order to end class divisions and class rule, to realize industrial self-government of the workers. Therefore, it is necessary that the proletariat organize its own state for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of that fact; it is equally a recognition of the fact that in the Communist reconstruction of society, the proletariat alone counts as a class.

While the dictatorship of the proletariat performs the negative task of crushing the

old order, it performs the positive task of constructing the new. Together with the government of the proletarian dictatorship, there is developed a new "government," there is developed a new government in the old which is no longer government in the man-sense, since it concerns itself with the management of production and not with government of persons. Out of workers' control of industry, introduced by the proletarian dictatorship, there develops the complete structure of Communist Socialism—industrial self-government of the communistically organized producers. When this structure is completed, which implies the complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie, economically and politically, the dictatorship of the proletariat ends, in its place coming the full free social and individual autonomy of the Communist order.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the Proletarian revolution in action, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat; just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant Imperialism.

The Communist International represents a Socialism in complete accord with the revolutionary character of the class struggle. It unites all the conscious revolutionary forces. It wages war equally against Imperialism and moderate Socialism—each of which has demonstrated its complete inability to solve the problems that now press down upon the workers. The Communist International issues its call to the conscious proletariat for the final struggle against Capitalism.

It is not a problem of immediate revolution. The revolutionary epoch may last for years and tens of years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope.

The old order is in decay. Civilization is in collapse. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society.

The Communist International calls!
Workers of the World Unite!

The High Cost of Living

THE cost of living haunts the working class and the workers are becoming restless. The underlying cause of the present unrest in this country is the high cost of the necessities of life. Great as the advance in the money wages of the workers has been their real wages have been reduced. These are facts of common experience but anyone who so desires may verify them by consulting governmental statistics.

Out of the inability to make their wages buy the kind of living they have become accustomed to, has grown the discontent of the workers. Unconsciously, they are in revolt against the misery brought on by the "high cost of living." Each day brings news of strikes and revolts against these conditions.

Many of these strikes have taken on a serious aspect. Workers have been murdered by hirelings of the bosses and riots are numerous. Usually the trouble is provoked by the brutal treatment of pickets and protesting strikers by the agents of the employers. The coal-mining districts are seething with unrest and there is a possibility that the transportation system of the country may be tied up.

The railroad workers, the "aristocracy of labor" before the war, no longer occupy

their favored position. At one time numbering in their ranks the best paid slaves in the country, they are today among the most poorly paid. The increase in the prices of the necessities of life has far outstripped their wage increases. The conservatism of the railroad workers has proven costly.

Conditions have become so serious that our honorable president is using the case of the railroad shopmen as the basis of an appeal to the slaves of the country to be loyal to their masters, and as a warning to the masters to be careful how they treat their slaves. An examination of the vagaries of this "call for a truce" will prove beneficial to the entire working class—and the shopmen in particular. Because of the "logic" of the appeal the men are asked not to press their demands; hence, they should examine that "logic."

The President, of course, examines the case and judges in all fairness. But the shopmen should by this time realize that the President's standard of "fairness" is not their standard. What Mr. Wilson would consider a "fair and equitable" return for their labor is not what the men have in mind. This is proved by the demands they have made and the judgment which has been handed down. The men demanded about

seventeen cents per hour increase, the President offers an increase of four cents. It seems that there is a difference of thirteen cents in the two standards of "fairness." What the shopmen must decide is whether they will accept four cents instead of seventeen. If they accept Mr. Wilson's idea of what is "fair" they will kiss the hand that gives them four cents and go back to work. But if they realize that they produce all the wealth and that there is nothing in common between them and those who take this wealth from them, in the form of rent, interest and profit, then it is likely that they will adhere to their original demands.

This increase of four cents is all that the railroad shopmen are offered. The balance of the President's message is an appeal to all workers to be contented with their lot.

According to the dweller in the White House, the cost of living will soon be lowered. Reading this beautifully written appeal we are moved to say "Almost thou persuadest me." But the fact is that the government has done nothing that will bring a decrease in the cost of living. The puny efforts now being made will have little or no effect. The constantly increasing cost of living cannot be solved within the capitalist system.

The Program of the Party

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state.

The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of the revolution.

I.

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state.

(a) The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears until finally the state dies and there are no more class distinctions.

(b) Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only.

(d) Parliamentary representatives of the Communist Party shall not introduce or support reform measures. Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the state. Parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose the oppressive class character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to interpret and emphasize the class struggle; they shall make clear how parliamentarism and parliamentary democracy deceive the workers; and they shall analyze capitalist legislative proposals and reform palliatives as evasions of the issue and as of no fundamental significance to the working class.

(d) Nominations for public office and participation in elections are limited to legislative bodies only, such as municipal councils, state legislature and national congress.

(c) The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party accordingly, in campaigns and elections, and in all its other activity, shall not co-operate with groups or parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Socialist Party, Labor Party, Non-Partisan League, Peoples Council, Municipal Ownership Leagues, etc.

II.

The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(c) In mass strikes under conditions of

concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency toward the general mass strike which takes on a political character and manifests the impulse toward toward proletarian dictatorship.

In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall emphasize the necessity of maintaining industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control.

(a) Every local and district organization of the Party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory—the shops, mills and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

(e) Shop Committees shall be organized wherever possible for the purpose of Communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other and with the Communist Party, so that

The Communist Convention

(Continued from Page 5.)

soph Stilson, the Lithuanian Secretary, Geo. Selakovich, South Slavic Federation, and Joseph Kowalsky, Polish Translator-Secretary.

One resolution of special interest was adopted by the Convention: that the propaganda attitude of the Communist Party shall be, when necessary, to explain religion as a social phenomenon and to explain the church as an institution in the light of the materialistic conception of history. It is evident from the refusal to consider religious affiliations as a bar to membership that the Convention meant to draw a sharp distinction between the "propaganda attitude of the party" and censorship of individual religious opinion.

This resolution, taken out of the Michigan minority program, puts the Communist Party on record against the evasion of the important subject of religion and the church which has heretofore been the policy of the organized socialist movement in this country. But it does not go to the other extreme of putting an affirmative burden upon the party to carry on a rationalistic campaign, as would be the case with a membership qualification against religious affiliation; it places our attitude squarely upon the social and political aspects of religion.

There are many features of the other committee reports which call for particular notice. There are many others respects in which this Convention stands out from all prior Socialist gatherings in America. For one thing, the fact that the Federation delegates were largely Slavic emphasized the close union between the organization of the Communist Party here and the parent organization which came into being at Moscow in March of this year—the Communist International. It was the Russian expression of Marxism which predominated this Convention, the Marxism of Lenin, and the party traditions of the Bolsheviks.

One delegate after another expressed amazement at the lessons thus brought before him. Many years of most valuable experience were compacted into one week; and there is no question but that the students ran the teachers a merry pace.

The Communist Convention and the Communist Party mean the beginning of a disciplined revolutionary working-class movement in America.

the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilize them for action against capitalism.

III.

The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial Unionism is not simply a means for the everyday struggle against capitalism: its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial Unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

(a) The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

(b) Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow, for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these councils to be unified in a Central Council wherever possible.

(c) It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization, embracing the I. W. W., W. I. I. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L., and the unorganized workers, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

IV.

The Communist Party shall encourage movements of the workers in the shop seeking to realize workers' control of industry, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; concretely, any movement analogous to the shop Stewards of England. These movements (equally directed against the union bureaucracy) should be related to the Communist Party.

V.

The unorganized unskilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitute the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial union organization and action.

VI.

In close connection with the unskilled workers is the problem of the Negro worker. The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all class-conscious workers.

VII.

The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of Capitalism.

VIII.

The struggle against Imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch.

(a) There must be close unity with the Communist International for common action against Imperialism.

(b) The Communist Party emphasizes the common character of the struggle of the workers of all nations, making necessary the solidarity of the workers of the world.

The Communist Party and Communist Labor Party

THERE are no doubt many who will find it difficult to understand how it came about that two new parties were formed at Chicago the first week of September instead of one. The breakup of the old Socialist Party, under challenge of revolutionary experience, came much more rapidly than anyone anticipated.

There was such startling quick and sure response to the Left Wing propaganda that the advance guard of the Left Wing found itself constantly prodded and pushed from behind. On the other hand the frantic efforts of the old party officialdom to stave off personal retirement and the reorganization of the party along the lines of revolutionary Socialism precipitated the crisis. The demands for new policies and a new officialdom, voiced in a series of referendums, was answered by wholesale expulsions of the aggressive membership. The breach was made complete; the old party rulers disavowed the militant membership; suspensions and expulsions followed quickly upon the first discovery of organized effort to change the character of the party. In turn, those who had repudiated the opportunistic compromises of the official Socialist Party, its refusal to align itself with the revolutionary groups of the Communist International, and its complete failure to conform its policies with the living reality of the world Social Revolution finally learned that their fight against a reactionary party officialdom must become a fight against the Socialist Party.

Here was the issue upon which the Left Wing forces split. There was the persistent belief that the militant membership could find the right method by which to tear the Socialist Party organization out of the clutches of the old officialdom. With over 50,000 members of the party disfranchised, and with the Right Wing openly proceeding to call into its Emergency Convention carefully selected henchmen from the Eastern and Central States, where most of the members could no longer vote, there were still some Left Wingers who counted upon using the Emergency Convention as the organ for revolutionizing the Socialist Party.

At the Left Wing National Conference, held at New York, June 21st to 24th, the majority plan included the use of the Emergency Convention. However, under pressure of vigorous argument in favor of immediate organization of a new party, there was the general admission that the Right Wing would not let itself be pushed into an Emergency Convention which it could not easily control. The majority argument was that there was value in the use of the Emergency Convention campaign as a means of carrying forward the Left Wing propaganda; but even the majority was careful to state a series of definite contingencies upon which the Left Wing must go ahead with the formation of a new party. It was unanimously agreed, among other alternatives, that if the representatives of the suspended and expelled organizations were refused seats in the Emergency Convention, then all the Left Wing delegates would join together to organize the Communist Party.

The vote in the Left Wing Conference on the proposition of forming the Communist Party on June 22nd was 55 to 38. This minority vote, assuming its acceptance by the membership represented, meant at once an alignment of over 30,000 members in favor of immediate formation of the new party. A group of 31 out of this minority, made up largely of Federation and Michigan delegates, organized separately upon a prog-

ram of immediate severance from the Socialist Party and a call for a convention on September first to form the Communist Party. This call was quickly accepted not only by the groups represented by these delegates, but by practically all of the disfranchised Socialist Party.

It was at once apparent that the bulk of the active Left Wing forces could have no part in the Emergency Convention. There might be argument about whether this minority group should have severed itself from the old party or not, but there could be no argument about the fact that this had happened. The Left Wing National Council could interpret its mandate from the Left Wing Conference as related to this membership no less than to any other Left Wing membership. Indeed, it was precisely this solid array of suspended and expelled organizations which had carried the Left Wing to the stage of its National Conference. Or the Left Wing National Council could close its eyes to the realities of the situation, insist upon the literalness of an instruction to use the Emergency Convention pending contingencies already fulfilled, and thereby satisfy several small groups interested for various extraneous reasons in keeping up a fight against the group definitely standing out for the Communist Party Convention.

The Left Wing National Council severely criticized the minority group upon two grounds, one the seeming desire to start the new party as a clique affair, without fair representation to all Left Wing groups; the other ground, an apparent indifference to Communist principles in joining together elements opposed in fundamental viewpoint but agreed on the starting of a new party. The first objection was answered by the agreement on representation which went into the Joint Call for the September first Convention. The second objection was answered by the reunion of the Federation groups with the Left Wing, which precluded the least possibility of deviation from the fundamentals of revolutionary Socialism at the Communist Party Convention. Only the small Michigan group had failed to accept the full implications of the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing Conference.

The Joint Call went out twenty days before the September first Convention. It was accepted by the Massachusetts State Convention of August 11, with practically no Federation representatives present, by vote of 62 to 7. It was accepted throughout New York. It was accepted in Cleveland and Philadelphia. It ended all controversy on the question of the September first Convention in many other important locals.

Obviously the time was too short for action upon the Joint Call in the Western States. But it is beyond challenge that the strategists who maneuvered the Communist Labor Party Convention were fully informed about the Joint Call. Benjamin Gitlow of New York was a member of the National Left Wing Council, John Reed was an Associate Editor of *The Revolutionary Age*, the official Left Wing paper; Alfred Wagenknecht, Ludwig Lore, Edward Lindgren, L. E. Katterfeld, Jack Carney, Alex Bilan—all these were fully informed of the situation, and most of them were under direct membership mandate to go into the Communist Party Convention.

When the bolting delegates from the Emergency Convention came together Sunday night, August 31st, determined that there could no longer be any basis of compromise with the Right Wing, it was proposed by C.

E. Ruthenberg that the first order of business be the consideration of unity with the Communist Party Convention which was to meet the next day. But this was voted down 37 to 31. There were some who still had in mind negotiations with the Right Wing, and there were others determined at all odds to make out of this chance grouping of bolting delegates a third party in opposition to the Communist Party. At all times there were a few in this body who sincerely believed that it was their special mission to start the new party, regardless of the lineup of over fifty thousand members in the Communist Party. And there were still a few others who did not recover from their confusion until this Communist Labor Party Convention was nearly over and they realized that they had been misled under momentary enthusiasm.

Only after this meeting of bolting delegates had been given the semblance of a new party organization was the question of the Communist Party given consideration. A committee was appointed to confer with the Joint Organization Committee of the Communist Party Convention on the possibilities of uniting the two conventions. On Monday morning the two committees met. After the written answer of the Joint Organization Committee was made, it was understood that the bolting delegates would sit in a reserved section of the Communist Party Convention hall until this Convention had time to organize itself and take up the question of unity as a body. This never happened; it was only after the work of both Conventions had gone to an advanced stage that a few members of the Communist Party Convention other than the original committee of five came into contact with the Communist Party Convention.

The following are the documents interchanged between the two conventions; a committee of five having been appointed by the Communist Party Convention for the purpose of these negotiations:

STATEMENT OF COMMUNIST CONVENTION

Before the beginning of the war in August 1914 sharp differences in principles and tactics had made themselves apparent in the parties within the Second International. In each country there was the faction which placed its reliance upon the parliaments of the bourgeois state for the transformation of capitalism into Socialism. This faction, the dominant element in the Socialist Party in practically every country, directed its tactics and agitation to the end of attaining a majority in the parliaments. They argued that this majority, through legislative action would end the power of the capitalists in industry and build up the structure of the new society.

In harmony with conception it considered the activities of its parliamentary representatives for reform measures intended to improve the position of the workers under the capitalist system as the method by which Socialism would be established.

In sharp conflict with these Moderate Socialists stood the Revolutionary minorities, which rejected the idea that the class struggle could be won in the bourgeois parliaments. The Revolutionary Socialists contended that the emancipation of the working class could not be achieved through the capitalist state but only through the overthrow of the capitalist state by the mass power of the workers and the establishment of a new organ of state power by the working class, in the form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the transfor-

mation of Capitalism into Communism.

Between these groups stood the wavering centre, revolutionary in phrases, it was never revolutionary in action. Rejecting the idea of legislating capitalism out of existence a step at a time, and therefore not agitating primarily for social reform measures under the capitalist system, this faction nevertheless considered the bourgeois state as the medium through which Capitalism would be abolished.

It required the test of action under revolutionary crisis to bring out the irreconcilable differences between these factions. Under the test of action it was found that Moderate Socialism betrayed the class struggle in favor of "reconciliation of the classes." Moderate Socialism is today directly and openly counter-revolutionary. The Centre, because of its vacillation, is even more dangerous because its revolutionary phrases conceal its betrayal of the revolutionary class struggle.

Although the movement in this country has not undergone the test of revolutionary experience in an advanced stage, the influence of the social revolution in Russia and the struggle in Germany have deepened the difference of viewpoint which have heretofore existed in the one party.

Out of the Socialist Party Convention, easily controlled by the Right Wing by ruthless manipulation, there have gathered in your Convention delegates who for a large variety of reasons are opposed to association with the Right Wingers. Many of your delegates left the Socialist Party Convention merely because they object to the methods of those in control of the old organization. The leaders of your group have carried on their campaign against the old party upon legalistic grounds. They have emphasized the question of party regularity; they have asked for support upon this basis, not upon understanding and acceptance of Communist principles and tactics.

There are delegates in your group who have made use of revolutionary phrases without conception of the differences in principles and tactics which separate the Right Wing from the Left. There are delegates who are with you because of personal grievances against the old party officialdom or against the Left Wing officialdom.

One of your delegates, for instance, in his statement before the Socialist Party contest committee, specifically repudiated ever having endorsed the Left Wing or being in sympathy with it. There are delegates with you on the basis of objection to "foreign" control, thus showing inability to grasp the first principles of Communism. Think of such an objection against an organization which is to be the American Branch of the Communist International!

In the Communist Convention are to be found the representatives of the conscious Communist elements in this country. In contrast to your heterogeneous bolting delegates, most of them without a mandate from any membership for the organization of a new party, the delegates in our convention came clearly instructed to form a Communist Party based upon the principles and tactics of the Communist International.

It must be remembered that a Communist Party gains nothing by additional membership unless that membership is consciously Communist. Ours must be a party closely united on fundamentals.

In considering our proposal for a unity of all the delegates now in Chicago who represent Communist groups, it must be kept clearly in mind that our convention is absolutely bound by the Joint Call which accounts for the presence of 123 delegates and 9 fraternal delegates in this city. These delegates represent 58,000 members. Their mandate from this membership is stated in

the Joint Call. Obviously our Convention is bound by the call which brought it into existence.

By this we do not mean to lay down any rule of formalism. To say that we are bound by the Joint Call is only another way of saying that the fact of our convention means a fundamental basis of agreement arrived at by discussion among these members. Every delegate in our convention owes his seat to the fact that our Committee on Credentials has had placed before it the documentary evidence of a membership mandate to organize a Communist Party.

Our convention would lose its real meaning if every additional delegate did not meet the same test. There is nothing in the nature of an adventure in our work. It has been deliberately planned; it is the calculated response to the development of the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party; it is not an accidental gathering of Socialist Party members who happen to agree at the moment that a new party might be the right way to give expression and force to the revolutionary Socialist movement in this country, speculating as to what response such an experiment might meet.

This is our instruction from our Convention: that every additional delegate must present his credentials to our Credential Committee in the same manner as delegates already seated. This instruction carries with it the clear implication that every additional delegate who votes in our convention must meet the test which puts him on the same membership basis as the rest of us. His vote, in addition to the votes already assigned within our Convention, must be in correspondence with the membership of the state organization he represents.

There are some delegates with credentials covering both the Socialist and Communist conventions, who have already been received for full participation in our Convention. Others who have such credentials will be similarly received through the Credential Committee. There may be other cases which would meet the same general test in a different way, according to the principle already stated.

Delegates from the Left Wing States or other organizations, that is organizations which have adopted the Left Wing program but have no credentials or instructions from their rank and file to the Communist Convention, and who were not elected in opposition to the Communist Convention, therefore fail to participate as voting members of our body, will be seated as fraternal delegates. This Committee will favor the exclusion, however, of delegates who opposed the Joint Call for the Communist Convention in favor of the Emergency Convention or who were elected on such opposition.

The total delegates for any state or other organization will be reduced by the number of delegates for such organization already seated in our convention.

Committee of the Communist Convention, Sept. 3, 1919.

ANSWER TO THE STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION BY THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION.

We waive the answer to the introduction in your statement because it contains no point of controversy. Neither do we care to propagandize the Communist Convention, for we are sure that the introduction to your statement is common knowledge among revolutionary Socialists.

The Left Wing movement is not a child of a day. Left Wing movements have existed in the Socialist Parties of the world ever since their inception. The only difference between the Left Wing factions of to-day and those of before the war is that these Left Wing factions have added to their fund

of knowledge the experiences of the war and revolutions.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution, Left Wing manifestations in the Socialist Party in this country became more pronounced and gradually crystallized until a very large element in the Socialist Party accepted the Left Wing position. This eventually resulted in the expulsion and suspension from the party of a portion of the Left Wing element by a reactionary officialdom. When this definite break occurred a conference was held in Chicago at which Fraina, Keracher, Ferguson, Ruthenberg, Stoklitzky and Stilson were present. It was there agreed to carry on the fight for the Left Wing and its principles within the Socialist Party in order to rally all Left Wing forces for a final battle against the Right Wing for control.

At this conference it was unanimously decided to divide the necessary work to be done. The duty of making what is now called the "legalistic" fight was given to the Ohio state office of the Socialist Party and it was agreed that the Revolutionary Age should continue its propaganda for the Left Wing dominance of principle. Under these circumstances any criticism of our group on these grounds is unworthy of those who make it.

The decision to carry on the fight within the Socialist Party was endorsed by the Left Wing National Conference and again at the meeting of the new national executive committee at Chicago in July. Members of your group, Fraina, Ruthenberg and others agreed to this course.

Despite these repeated decisions to carry on the fight within the party, certain elements of your group, decided to organize a new Party. We refer to the Russian Federation—Michigan Combination, who were united, not on principle, but for political advantage.

The National Left Wing Council was stampeded by these elements into its violation of the National Left Wing Conference decision and reluctantly joined in the call for a Communist Convention.

The group we represent remained true to all edicts officially issued by these several Left Wing conferences, carried the battle to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party, and there made a decisive fight. We shall probably never find ourselves in agreement with the tactics of flopping from one position to another at the rate of nearly twice a week, in direct violation of the mandates of higher governing bodies and arguments.

We agree that the sentiment of the membership of a large organization can never be definitely gauged. However, the Socialist Party membership, by a vote of nearly 10 to 1, decided to affiliate with the Moscow International. This would at least mean that by far the greater majority of the membership of the Socialist Party subscribes to the Left Wing program. The Left Wing delegates who compose this Communist Labor Party, are unanimously in favor of carrying out this decision. The 92 delegates which compose this Communist Labor Party convention represent an overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party's membership. The delegates who compose your convention are separated from us merely because of the one fact that a few reactionary officials kicked them out of the party.

We have kept our joint agreements. You have violated yours. You deserted us, you deserted the party membership when it needed you most. It is therefore assuming much on your part to attempt to lay down terms for unity to us. Despite your inconsistencies, we now offer to meet you to unite the two conventions upon a basis of equality.

We see many inconsistent elements in

your convention. We are, however, desirous of uniting all the forces of Communism into one solid phalanx to oppose both capitalism and the elements of moderate bourgeois Socialism. We are sure that in the course of time all inconsistent elements will drop out. Considering these inconsistent elements in your convention, you cannot justly criticize any seeming inconsistent elements in ours.

We must refuse your demand to come into your convention as individual delegates. We are Left Wing delegates regularly assembled in the Communist Labor Party Convention. We represent a stable and permanent organization. We have obeyed all agreements of the Left Wing conferences which were legitimate. We have also obeyed the mandates of the party membership as expressed by referendum. We can claim at least as much credit for the crystallization of revolutionary elements among the Socialist Party's membership as your volatile and bolting groups.

We claim ours is the advantageous position, yet we are willing to meet you upon a basis of equality. Unity can be affected and should be effected, so that out of the existing crisis, instead of two parties, each claiming the right to affiliate with the Moscow International, and each deserving that right, only one party of Communist Socialism shall emerge.

Toward this end we propose: That the two Conference Committees shall constitute a joint credential committee to go over the roster of both conventions to see whether they really contain any irreconcilable elements, and if possible, to agree upon a joint recommendation to both Conventions.

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION.

The Communist Party Convention, in replying to the Committee of the Communist Labor Party Convention, can take no account of the various decisions of the groups which met at Chicago immediately following the expulsion and suspensions made by the Old National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party; nor of the agreements credited to the Left Wing National Conference, the National Left Wing Council, the Minority group of the Left Wing Conference, or the new Socialist Party National Executive Committee. Each of these must and will answer for itself.

This convention has no question about the rank and file of the Socialist Party. The ten to one vote to join the Communist International is one of the items which account for our presence in Chicago to organize the Communist Party of America. Examination of the ballots in this referendum and of our roster of delegates will show that it is our

Communist Party membership which cast the overwhelming bulk of these votes.

As to the charges of inconsistent elements in our convention, that will be tested by the program and constitution which we adopt. We have absolute confidence that our convention will act in clarity of principle without compromise. There can be no charge of inconsistent elements in our party if the work of our convention shows agreement on Communist fundamentals in principles, program of party work, and form of party organization.

We can only refer your delegates again to our answer of September 3rd. We appeal to your delegates to act on their individual judgment, not in a false sense of loyalty to an accidental grouping in a body which represents no membership organization. Some of your delegates belong with us by clear mandate of their membership, and they must realize their responsibility in assuming at this crucial time to function directly against the Communist Party.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4th, 1919.

On Friday, September 5th, a new committee from the Communist Labor Party Convention presented on the floor of the Communist Convention an invitation for an informal joint meeting of the two Conventions.

Whereupon a motion was made and adopted that the reply to this invitation be as follows: that we have already invited the delegates of the other Convention to sit with us as special guests, while many of these delegates can also qualify as delegates or fraternal delegates to this Convention.

CONCLUSION.

The Communist Party is now established — on a solid foundation of principle and membership. The Communist Labor Party began to fall apart before the end of its hip-hurrah convention. It represented no membership mandate in its inception; and the primary problem of its creators will be to find a membership now that appropriate emblems, poems, college yells and songs have been adopted. All sorts of extremes in opinion manifested themselves within this chance convention, and first one element and then another was forced out. Hardly one-half of the delegates remained for the job of formulating a constitution for the new party, the most fundamental work of such a convention; and this little group went about its work in a listless, indifferent way.

Its formal statement claims 92 delegates in the Communist Labor Party Convention. The actual roster shows 81. Of these 7 were regular delegates in the Communist Party Convention, leaving the actual number at

74. Out of this total of 74 there were over 50 from States where the membership was fully represented in the Socialist and Communist Conventions. For example, there were over 60 delegates from New York in the three conventions. Only in the Communist Party Convention was this representation based on actual membership, using the ratio of 1 delegate to 500 members. The Right Wing had a full delegation from New York, in spite of the fact that most of the members were expelled. The 9 delegates from New York City to the Communist Labor Party Convention could not possibly have represented anybody, since all the locals of New York had either lined up with the Right Wing or accepted the Joint Call for the Communist Party Convention.

The only bona fide representatives of Left Wing membership in the Communist Labor Party Convention were about 20 in number, from Washington, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon, Kansas, Nebraska, Utah and Kentucky. This is partially the case also as to California, and there are perhaps half a dozen other instances where Left Wing membership was represented in this Convention, and in the Communist Party Convention, as in the case of certain locals of Illinois. It is a generous estimate to say that 10,000 members were represented by these delegates.

As to the 14 delegates from Ohio, their presence in the third party convention was in direct violation of instructions. This was true also of a few other delegates, particularly from Local Kings County, New York, and one from St. Louis. It was true also of those who had no instruction to bolt the Socialist Party Convention.

It is apparent that this Communist Labor Party adventure has no significance beyond the personal inability of a few dozens to give their membership representation in either of the two real conventions, that of the old party or that of the new Communist Party. It will stand as a graphic portrayal of the viciousness of Centristism, with its play on revolutionary phrases and its negation of decisive action. The 10,000 members thus deprived of representation will realize that their only real choice lies between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party; and the history of the Left Wing movement proves that these members will quickly join themselves with the Communist Party, leaving their Centrist leaders without trace of a following.

The Communist Party is established on the firm basis of gathering into itself only real Communists, so that the conscious revolutionary nucleus of the working class in this country can really function in a crisis of action, instead of being dissipated by its own contradictions.

Wanted: A War

The capitalist press is experiencing difficulty in getting the minds of the working class in this country into proper shape to allow for an invasion of Mexico. However, they are working at it overtime. Every paper that one picks up carries screaming headlines for intervention in Mexico. It doesn't seem to be making much headway, however. The workers were convinced by the "War for Democracy" that they must not take everything at face value, and they are examining the facts in the Mexican situation. Therefore they are aware that everything is not as it is claimed to be.

The interest of the workers south of the Rio Grande are nil. The interests of the capitalists are great and it will be the capitalists' interests that the workers will go there to defend—if they go.

Members of the working class do not own any mines or oil wells or plantations in Mexico. Some newspaper owners do, and many other owners of property in Mexico control the policy of newspapers in this country. Aside from that, the imperialistic needs of the capitalist in this country are driving them to seek domination over the economic resources of Mexico.

A war at this time would furnish the necessary excuse to make an attack upon the radical labor movement and therefore, is not

undesirable to the capitalist class of this country. Although that in itself would not be sufficient to cause a war. The main and dominant reason is the necessity of securing the natural resources of Mexico for exploitation by United States capitalists.

Whether they succeed in this or not rests with the workers of this country. If they can be brought to realize that the interest of the working class is international and that they have nothing to gain by an invasion of Mexico the first objective will be gained. If in addition to this they can be organized to protect that international interest of the workers by establishing a workers government in these United States—then the future is theirs.

Sammy Gompers has been to Europe trying to organize the Labor movement to put an end to Bolshevism. He gives us the pleasant information that Bolshevism is dead—and we are glad that he says so, for Sammy is usually 100% wrong in his diagnosis of the situation. Sammy did not seem to realize that the European Labor Movement is a hundred years ahead of America and therefore knows what caused the war and did not care to spend hours debating as to whether Germany was responsible or not.

The Party Constitution

I. Name and Purpose

Sec. 1. The name of this organization shall be THE COMMUNIST PARTY of America. Its purpose shall be the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist society.

II. Emblem

Sec. 1. The emblem of the party shall be a button with the figure of the earth in the centre in white with gold lines and a red flag across the face bearing the inscription "All Power To The Workers"; around the figure of the earth a red margin shall appear with the words "The Communist Party of America" and "The Communist International" on this margin in white letters.

III. Membership

Sec. 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and the Communist International and agrees to engage actively in the work of the party, shall be eligible to membership. It is the aim of this organization to have in its rank only those who participate actively in its work.

Sec. 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Communist Party, declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the party and the Communist International; agrees to submit to the discipline of the party as stated in its constitution and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

Sec. 3. Every member must join a duly constituted branch of the party. There shall be no members-at-large.

Sec. 4. All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

Sec. 5. Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until two months after presentation to the branch, and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice and no vote. Provided that this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new branches nor to the members who make application to newly organized branches during the first month.

Sec. 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

Sec. 7. No person who has an entire livelihood from rent, interest or profit shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party.

Sec. 8. No person shall be accepted as a member who enters into the service of the national state or local governmental bodies otherwise than through the Civil Service, or by legal compulsion.

Provided, that the civil employment by the government is of a non-political character.

Sec. 9. No members of The Communist Party shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic character to publications other than those of the Communist Party or of parties affiliated with the Communist International. (This clause shall not be considered as prohibiting the contribution of articles written from an economic or scientific standpoint to scientific or professional journals. Permission to answer an attack upon the Communist Party in the bourgeois press may be granted by the Central Executive Committee.

IV. Units of Organization

Sec. 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party shall be branches of not less than seven members. (Applicants for a charter shall fill out the form provided by the National Organization).

Sec. 2. Two or more branches located in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. City Central Committees may include branches in adjacent territory, subject to supervision of these central management of the party.

Sec. 3. City Central Committees and all other branches in the same state shall form State Organizations. Provided, that under the control of

Adopted and Issued by the Convention of the Communist Party

the Central Executive Committee more than one state may be included in a single District Organization; and provided also that District Organizations may be formed by the Central Executive Committee along the lines of industrial rather than state divisions.

Sec. 4. Branches of the Communist Party made up of members who speak a foreign language, when there are ten or more of such branches consisting of a total of not less than 750 members, may form a Language Federation. Provided, that this rule shall not apply to members of those Federations affiliating with the party at the time of its organization or within four months thereafter. No more than one Federation of the same language may exist in the party.

Sec. 5. All language branches shall join and become part of the Federations of their language if such a Federation exists.

Sec. 6. All subsidiary units shall be combined in the Communist Party. Branches of the cities, states, districts and federations shall be unite of the Communist Party.

Art. V. Administration

Sec. 1. The supreme administrative body of the Communist Party shall be the convention of the party.

Sec. 2. Between the meetings of the conventions the supreme body shall be the Central Executive Committee elected by the convention. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of fifteen members. The convention shall also elect five alternates who shall take their places as members of the Central Executive Committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

Sec. 3. The Central Executive Committee shall elect from its members a sub-committee of five members, who together with the Executive Secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party shall be known as the Executive Council. The members of the Executive Council shall live in the city in which the National Headquarters are located or in adjacent cities. This Executive Council shall carry on the work of the party under the supervision of the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 4. The Convention shall elect an Executive Secretary and the Editor of the central organ of the party. All other officials shall be appointed by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 5. The Executive Secretary and Editor shall conduct their work under the direction of the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 6. The supreme administrative power of the State, District, Federation or City unite shall be vested in the conventions of these respective units. Conventions of the State or District Organization shall be held in May or June each year.

Sec. 7. Between conventions of the District, State and Federations the Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall be the supreme bodies.

Sec. 8. The Central Executive Committee of these organizations shall in each case be elected by the conventions, which shall also determine the number of members.

Sec. 9. The City Central Committees shall consist of delegates elected by the branches upon the basis of proportional representation. They shall meet at least once each month. The City Central Committees shall elect their Executive Committees and Executive Officers.

Sec. 10. Each Federation shall elect a Translator-Secretary who shall have an office in the National Headquarters and whose salary shall be paid by the National Organization. Translator-Secretaries are the representatives of their organizations in the National Headquarters, and shall serve as mediums of communications. They shall submit monthly to the Executive Secretary and the State and District Organizations a statement showing all the dues stamps sold during the previous month. Translator-Secretaries shall not be eligible to membership in the Central Executive Committee Council but shall meet with the Committee and the Executive Council and have a voice but not vote.

VI. Dues

Sec. 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents which shall

be receipted for an initiation stamp furnished by the National Organization. The fifty cents shall be divided between the branch and City Central Committee. Where there is no City Central Committee its share shall be paid to the State or District Organization.

Sec. 2. Each member shall pay forty cents per month in dues. Stamps shall be sold to the State or District Organization at fifteen cents; State or District Organizations shall sell stamps to the City Central Committees and branches in cases where there are no City Committees, at twenty five cents; City Central Committees shall sell stamps to branches at thirty cents.

Sec. 3. Branches of Language Federations shall purchase their dues stamps through their Federations. Translator Secretaries shall pay ten cent per stamp to the National Organization and shall remit to each State or District Organization ten cents for each stamp sold each month. Where a City Central Committee exists the State or District Organization shall remit five cents of this amount to the City Central Committee. Members of Language Federations Branches pay forty cents per stamp, ten cents going to the branch and ten cents to the Federation.

Sec. 4. Special assessment may be levied by the National Organization, Federations or the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

Sec. 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps, which shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by both husband and wife.

Sec. 6. Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness or for similar reasons, shall upon application to their financial secretary be furnished exempt stamps. Provided that no State or District Organization or Federation shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than 5 per cent of its monthly purchase of regular stamps.

Sec. 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

VII. Discipline

Sec. 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units of the organizations.

Sec. 2. Any member or organization violating the decisions of the party shall be subject to expulsion by the organization which has jurisdiction. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal by either side to the City Central Committee or State or District Organization where there is no City Central Committee. Charges against the branches shall be made before the City Central Committee, or where there is no City Central Committee before the State or District Organization. Decisions of the City Central Committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the State or District Organization. Charges against State or District Organizations shall be made before the Central Executive Committee. When a City Central Committee expels a Federation branch, the branch shall have the right to present its case to the Central Executive Committee of the Federation. If the Central Executive Committee of the Federation decides to that effect it may bring an appeal for reinstatement before the Central Executive Committee of the party which shall make final disposition of the matter.

Sec. 3. Members and branches of the Federation shall be subject to the discipline of the Federation. Branches expelled by the Federation shall have the right to appeal to the City Central Committee, or, when there is no City Central Committee, to the State or District Organization. If the City Central Committee or the State or District Organization does not uphold the expulsion the matter shall be referred to the Central Executive Committee upon documentary evidence and if the decision of the City Central Committee or State or District Organization is upheld, the branch shall be reinstated as a branch of the Federation.

Sec. 4. Each unit of the party organization

shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

Sec. 5. A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall secure a transferal card from the financial secretary of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such a transferal card and upon presentation of the transfer card the secretary of the branch receiving same shall make inquiry about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

Sec. 6. All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books and accounting records which shall be printed by the National Organization.

Sec. 7. All employees of the party must be party members.

VIII. Headquarters

Sec. 1. The National Headquarters of the party shall be located in Chicago. In an emergency District or State Office may be used as the National Headquarters.

IX. Qualifications

Sec. 1. Members of the Central Executive Committee the Executive Secretary, Editor International Delegates and International Secretary and all candidates for political office must have been members of the party for two years at the time of their election or nomination. Those shall be eligible to election to party offices or nomination to public office on June 1, 1920 who join the Communist Party before Jan 1 1920. All who state their intention of joining the Communist Party shall be eligible at this convention.

X. Conventions

Sec. 1. National Convention shall be held an-

nually during the month of June the specific date and place to be determined by the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee may call Emergency Conventions and such conventions may also be called by referendum vote.

Sec. 2. Representation at the National Convention shall be upon the basis of one delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof; provided, that when the number of delegates would exceed a total of 200 the Central Executive Committee shall increase the basis of representation so that the number of delegates shall not exceed that figure.

Sec. 3. Delegates shall be apportioned to the State or District Organizations on the basis of one delegate for each such organization and the apportionment of the balance on the basis of the average membership for the six month prior to the issue of the call for the convention Delegates shall be elected at the Convention of the State or District Organization.

Sec. 5. Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid their traveling expenses and a per diem of \$5.00.

Sec. 5. The call for the convention and the apportionment of delegates shall be published not later than April 1.

XI. Referendum and Recall

Sec. 1. Referendums on the question of party platform policy or constitution shall be held upon the petition of 25 or more branches representing 5 per cent of the membership; (2) or by initiative of the Central Executive Committee; (3) or by initiative of the National Convention.

Sec. 2. All officers of the National Organization or those elected to public office shall be

subject to recall upon initiative petition of 25 or more branches representing 5 per cent of the membership. A recall vote of the membership may also be initiated by the Central Executive Committee.

Sec. 3. Each motion and resolution shall be printed in the official bulletin and remain open for ninety days from the date of first publication, and, if it has then received the requisite number of seconds it shall be abandoned. The vote on each referendum shall close sixty days after its submission.

Sec. 4. Referendums shall be submitted without preamble or comment, but the party press shall be open for discussion of the question involved during the time the referendum is pending.

XII. International Delegate and Secretary

Sec. 1. Delegates to the International Congress and alternates and an International Secretary and alternate shall be elected by the convention.

Schedule

Any branch of the Socialist Labor Party which endorses the program and constitution of the Communist Party and applies for a charter before Jan. 1, 1920 shall be accepted as a branch.

The provisions of Art. III, Section 4, shall not be enforced until after Dec. 1, 1919, except as to the two signatures.

RECOMMENDATION

That this Convention authorize the secretary immediately to issue a Special Organization Stamp to sell at fifty cents to create a fund for the organization of the party.

The Trend of Things

WILSON AND SHANTUNG

The argument now going on over the "Shantung Grab" between the representative of different sections of the capitalist class is highly amusing.

All of the opposition forces brand it as an act of brigandage on the part of Japan to steal this province from China. One would think that there was some particular moral stigma attached to Japan because of this act, but such is not the case. Japan is just one among many. She is no more morally responsible than are her fellow-brigands who consented to the act. Those who have consented to the thievery are equally responsible with her. They gave Japan her share of the spoils and they received theirs. This act of imperialistic robbery on the part of Japan is no worse than many other such cases at the Peace Conference. France and the Saar valley; England in Africa; Italy at Fiume and many more that might be named.

America, like a good imperialistic ally, has stuck by her pals and must see the thing through to a final and proper disposition of the spoils. To do otherwise would spoil the international unity of the capitalist class against the workers. America must go through with her bargain of making the world safe for capitalism. That is, unless the workers of United States decide otherwise.

PROFESSORS AND THE REVOLUTION

Professor Arthur W. Calhoun seems to have called the wrath of the powers that be down upon his pedagogical head. It has been discovered by the department of justice that the revolutionary school of thought is not confined to the "foreign" elements. We wonder who told them. Their stupidity in the discovering line has become proverbial, and we wonder how they stumbled upon him. Probably some other slave who wanted his job betrayed him to the agents of the capitalists.

Professors, as well as everyone else who work for a living, are forced to turn their attention to social problems, consequently, if they are intelligent, they must see the need of revolutionizing society. If the agents of reaction were intelligent in their work they might find many more in unexpected places, who accept the Communist position.

The professional workers, high collared proletarians, have suffered a great reduction in their standard of living in the last few years and they have felt the pinch. Consequently the unrest among

them. Being honest, when they consider their situation they must admit the necessity of abolishing capitalism.

The only quarrel that we have with the professors is that they recover with great difficulty from the miseducation they have received in capitalist institutions and generally come into the proletarian movement not to become a part of it but rather to teach the workers some easy way to emancipate themselves.

Calhoun sounds like a good old American name and we have at least one more proof that the unrest of the country is not the result of moral depravity on the part of some particular section of the working class.

MORE TROOPS TO EUROPE

On August 25th and 26th we were informed that two regiments of the United States Army were to be sent to Europe to police Silesia. The League of Nations is at work. The task of forcing its decisions on unwilling peoples is begun. The United States is performing its part nobly in this work. At the peace conference, Silesia was a difficult piece of booty to dispose of. Rich in coal mines, it was a prize worth fighting for. Germany wants to return it and the Allies must take it away from her in order to cripple her economic system. Poland wants it because it means much to her future imperialistic ambitions. It was finally decided that a plebiscite should determine its possession. A date fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty by three great powers was set. In the mean time both, Poland and Germany have been trying to gain a position in the disputed territory from which they could influence the plebiscite. If either could gain actual possession of the territory they would be in a position to determine the plebiscite or nullify it. In the meantime, a communistic movement has developed in Silesia and a revolution is immanent. The Communists are determined that neither Imperialistic Germany or Imperialistic Poland shall have the country to exploit. This naturally moves the Band of Nations to the work for which it was organized; the suppression of Communism and the making of the world safe for Capitalism.

As an American contribution towards this work two regiments are sent from America. In spite of the fact that there are many American troops in Europe those selected have had no experience in the world war and will be shipped from this side. We wonder if the experience of American troops in the European War has unfitted them for the work of suppressing the working class in other countries?

The Massacre at Hammond

By H. M. WICKS.

HAMMOND, Indiana, can now be added to the long and ever increasing list of towns the mention of which conjures up in the minds of class conscious workers the spectacle of brutal massacre. There on Tuesday, September 9th, the thugs and gunmen in the employ of the Standard Steel Company, assisted by the police force of the city of Hammond, prepared another page in the blood streaked history of the American labor movement.

The strike in the Standard Steel works dates from July 18th, when the workers who had been recently organized struck for a raise in wages. One of the first acts of the corporation and the petty authorities of the city of Hammond was to bring about a condition which gave them an excuse to call in the state militia. Goodrich, the governor of the state, ordered the militia into the district where it remained until a week ago, as it was apparent there was no desire on the part of the strikers to precipitate violence. Since the withdrawal of the troops the thugs who are employed by the corporation have repeatedly attempted to provoke acts of violence on the part of the strikers, as an excuse to prevent them from picketing. The strikers had secured a federal judicial decision giving them right to picket and resented any infringement upon that right. For many days it had been rumored around Hammond that blood was to be spilled in order to stop the strike. Finally on Monday the police thugs of the corporation announced that on Tuesday morning there would be serious disturbances. The police force of Hammond were ordered to be prepared to assist the corporation thugs, a moving picture machine was placed where the operator could secure a picture of the scene and the drama of bloodshed was produced as per schedule.

There were about two hundred workmen, guarded by the police who had been marching into the plant in a body for a number of days. The strikers would gather within three or four blocks of the works endeavoring to influence the scabs. The police determined to disperse them and on Tuesday morning deliberately started the massacre. The strikers had heard reports of the threat of the police to cause bloodshed, so one of their number, Thos. Skuba, a returned soldier, in full uniform and carrying an American flag, led the strikers. Most of the men were foreigners who had been employed at the plant for two or three years. During the war they, like all the other slaves, had been surfeited with drivel about "democracy" and "freedom" and were told that the American flag symbolized these two abstractions. Hence they considered themselves perfectly safe in carrying on their demonstration under the flag.

As soon as the police arrived upon the scene they attempted to disperse the men and used violent tactics in the attempt. A uniformed policeman tore the flag from the hands of the soldier and threw it upon the ground and then arrested the flag bearer. This act disillusioned the strikers and at that moment they realized the fact that emblems such as the flag exist as subjects of patriotic orators, but are really meaningless when workmen attempt to exercise their so-called constitutional "right" under them. The next act on the part of the police was to draw their revolvers and aim them at the strikers. As some of the men in the front ranks turned to tell the others to disperse the first volley from the revolvers, rifles and sawed-off shot-guns was fired directly into the crowd, rapidly followed by other volleys. This continued for only the short period of two minutes, but after the crowd had dispersed the scene resembled a battlefield. There were twenty two bodies upon the ground, some writhing in agony, others had been killed instantly. Many others, including two women and a number of children were wounded and the strikers could be seen dragging many of their wounded from the field of battle. Ambulances soon arrived and it was learned that three of the victims had been instantly killed. Their bodies were removed to a morgue and the wounded taken to hospitals, where one of them died later in the day. At the morgue it was learned that all the dead had been shot in the back as they turned to disperse. That fact alone gives the lie to the capitalist press, which claimed the strikers had assaulted the police. There was only one policeman injured and his injury was caused by a fall and not in the conflict. If the strikers had been armed, as reported, some of the thugs and the gunmen would have been killed or at least injured.

The scene in the district following the massacre was indescribably horrible. At least fifty men, women and children had received gun shot wounds and were being cared for by strikers and their families. Other women and children who were unable to locate their husbands and fathers attempted to approach the bodies upon the field, but were held back by the police. Dozens of houses in the district show hundreds of marks where bullets and gun shot penetrated.

While the massacre was being perpetrated the moving picture operator, who was stationed on the roof of a nearby hotel calmly took pictures of the whole affair. That fact is significant and lends support to the charge that the slaughter of the strikers was deliberately premeditated by the police thugs.

The corporation owned paper of Hammond and also the daily press of Chicago declared the strike-breakers were Americans who had decided to return to work, while those who remained out on strike were foreigners influenced by the radical agitators. While most of the strikers are people of foreign birth a large number of the strike breakers are also aliens. If it is true that the majority of the scabs were Americans it is certainly a comment on the intelligence of the 'free born American workman', and again justifies the charge that the American slaves are the most stupid on earth. As most of the population of Hammond is foreign born it is natural the majority of the strikers should also be foreigners. The statement that the scabs are all Americans is simply cheap propaganda on the part of the hirelings of the Standard Steel Car Company for the purpose of intimidating the strikers. Some of the dollar patriots are offering their services free to the Hammond police department and by accident a writer for The Communist, while sitting in the police station trying to get an interview with some of the participants in the murders, overheard a telephone conversation between the sergeant of police and one Dave Emory, who is connected with the principal banking establishment of Hammond. Emory requested to be sworn in as a special policeman, along with a number of his friends, so they could help "clean out the damned foreigners." The patriotic gag is still being employed by the employers in the industries of the country, wherever there are any labor disturbances. There have been threats from the employers that every person who participates in the strike shall be driven from the district.

The strikers at Hammond have been taught the same lesson the ruling class of this country taught the workers in all the industrial struggles of recent years. That lesson is that those who are supposed to uphold law and order have absolutely no respect for so-called constitutional rights, when workmen attempt to exercise them, and that the police and the armed force of the state are maintained in the interest of the ruling class and against the workers.

The labor question is not a question of "right" or "wrong" but a question of power.

The new organization in Hammond has received its baptism in blood. Let us hope it emerges from this experience with an understanding of the true significance of the struggle, and the members come to realize the necessity for militant organization of the workers for the purpose of destroying the system that makes possible such needless slaughter of the workers.

The Communist Party is now a fact. It calls upon every conscious worker to rally to its support. Our first requirement is to build a solid, disciplined, while organization. Then—the revolutionary struggle. Comrades—act!

What the War Was About

If anyone in the United States or the Allied countries labored under the delusion that the issue involved in the late war was to "make the world safe for democracy" and annihilate autocracy before the combination of Allied money and Roumanian soldiers crushed the workers' republic of Hungary, no one but an idiot could possibly believe it now.

In fact, that spokesman of imperialist capitalism, Woodrow Wilson, who created the slogan, never uses it now, as he recognizes the fact that it has served its purpose and should now repose in peace in the graveyard of capitalist lies, along with those other cardinal lies of capitalism: "liberty, equality and fraternity." A whole historical cycle separates the "liberty, equality and fraternity" of the French bourgeois revolutionists from the "making the world safe for democracy" of capitalist imperialism. There is also a vast difference between the theoretical spokesmen of the rising capitalist class and the present day apologists of imperialism. The French revolutionists devoutly believed the advent of their system of government would establish harmonious relations among all the people of the earth, but the slogan of the latter stage of capitalism was used by spokesmen of the ruling class who were well aware of the fact that it was a lie. That slogan was twisted to serve every sordid purpose of capitalism during the war. Every despotic act of the United States government was cloaked with that phrase, and those who had the courage to protest were brazenly informed that the curtailment of liberties within the confines of this nation was necessary for a short time only in order that we might more easily crush Kaiserism; those rebels who declared that Kaiserism was being introduced into the United States in a more vicious form than it ever existed in Germany were denounced as enemies of democracy and sent to prison for long terms.

While the ruling class of this nation was successfully waging an imperialistic war for the extension of its sphere of influence to foreign nations and while it was more firmly forging the fetters that bind the American workers to wage-slavery, the subtle phrase-mongers coined another slogan especially for the slaves; that slogan was "Freedom for All, Forever." If the slave would not get enthusiastic over the words "make the world safe for democracy" he would certainly fall for the proposition of "Freedom for All, Forever." So mouthing the silly slogans coined by the hirelings of the master class the American slave patiently endured every inroad made upon his alleged liberties, until what little freedom of thought, speech or action he once enjoyed was taken from him. If the United States government really desired freedom of peoples, democracy, self-determination of nations, etc., its armies would not now be in Russia and American bankers would not be financing counter-revolutionary movements such as the Kolchak movement against Soviet Russia, and the Roumanian movement against Hungary.

In Russia the workers have controlled their own government since Nov. 7, 1917, and last March the Karolyi bourgeois government which came into power in

Hungary after the downfall of the House of Hapsburg resigned in favor of the workers. Karolyi, by no means in sympathy with the revolutionary proletariat, was compelled to admit the workers were the only ones who could rule Hungary. Although belonging to the ruling class Karolyi had sufficient intelligence to recognize the fact that only the proletariat of the world is capable of ruling at this stage of industrial development. The workers government responded to the opportunity and immediately proceeded to the organization of a soviet government. For the first time in history the workers of Hungary conducted the affairs of the nation for themselves. Every worker had a personal interest in the government and in the industrial and agricultural life of the nation. The capitalist class was being rapidly dispossessed and industry was being reorganized upon an efficient basis, closely patterned after the Russian soviet system.

The fact that Hungarian workers had taken the same course as the Russian workers was sufficient incentive for the heroic Allied governments to immediately conspire against the self-determination and the liberty of the workers of Hungary, as they conspired against the liberties of the workers of Russia. But Hungary was not so fortunately situated as is Russia, so after a five months' struggle against the intrigues and armed invasion of the Allies, Soviet Hungary succumbed. Today the workers' republic of Hungary lies bleeding at the feet of the Allied imperialists, and while the gravest charges the Allies could ever bring against the Hungarian Soviet government was the execution of a few traitors and counter-revolutionists who had conspired against the republic and against the lives of individuals prominent in that government, the same element of the Allies that protested against what they were pleased to call the savagery of the Soviets is slaughtering hundreds of people daily. After destroying the workers' government, the Roumanian army, supplied with gold and arms and ammunition by the Allies proceeds to execute everyone, man woman or child, who is suspected of sympathizing with the revolutionary workers. The atrocities being perpetrated against the defeated workers in Hungary again proves that the ruling class sinks into unrestrained savagery when it gains the upper hand in a movement against the workers. The history of the Paris Commune, and of the White Guard crimes in Finland is being repeated in Hungary at this moment.

After crushing the workers' republic in Hungary beneath the iron heel of Allied militarism, these butchers set Arch-

Joseph, of the House of Hapsburg, on the throne. Had there been within the confines of the United States, one short year ago, a person who would have dared insinuate that today the Allies would be assisting the House of Hapsburg rule Austria he would have been sentenced to at least a hundred years in jail for violation of the espionage act. The entire history of the house of Hapsburg is a history of infamy, and of oppression and degradation of the unfortunate subjects of that House. The House of Hapsburgs' has ruled continuously in some part of Europe since the year 1273. Time and again the male line has become extinct because of the degenerate lives of these rulers. The lineage would be saved by a daughter marrying into another family, thus infusing new blood into the offspring. The degeneracy and infirmities of Francis Joseph II, who ruled Austria-Hungary at the time the world war broke out was well known. The origin of the Hapsburg family certainly had nothing to do with its subsequent activities, but it may be of interest to note that it derived its name from the Castle of Hapsburg, or Habichtsburg, (hawks' castle) on the banks of the Aar, in the Swiss Canton of Aargau, said to have been built about the year 1027.

It is thus that the Allies make the world safe for democracy, by destroying the workers republic of Hungary and placing upon the imperial throne a Hapsburg; a scion of that foul, leprous, blood-streaked, embodiment of nameless diseases, the House Hapsburg, to rule the people.

Ammunition made by American workers was used against the workers republic and if the ruling class of this country had deemed it necessary American workers, would have been ordered to assist in the assassination of the hopes of the Hungarian people, even as American workers are doing in Russia at this hour.

So, at last, it becomes plain to all what we fought for. The slogan "freedom for all, forever" meant nothing but freedom of American and Allied imperialists to exploit the world. In order to do this successfully they form alliances with the imperial house they formerly denounced as enemies of civilization. At that time we Communists pointed out to the best of our ability that there is absolutely no difference between the monarchy of Kaiser Bill and the democracy of Woodrow Wilson as long as capitalism continues.

We declared then and we declare today that the quarrel between two different groups of the ruling classes of the world is of no concern to the worker, and that the only fight worth the shedding of a single drop of working class blood is the struggle of the workers of the world against the capitalist class of the world.

The Allies may gloat over their ill-gotten victory, but out of the ruins and sweep the house hatched in a buzzard's up from the ashes of the workers republic will arise another revolution that will nest from power and in unison with the class conscious proletariat and under the banner of the Third International join again the ranks of the world revolution in order that throughout the world capitalism may be annihilated.

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